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OGERS, M. D. h Rock. e Hutchinson hin, as a Water Cur

the city, and the coast. The waon a very desirable
to \$10 per week

Now, sir, I do not believe in preaching against

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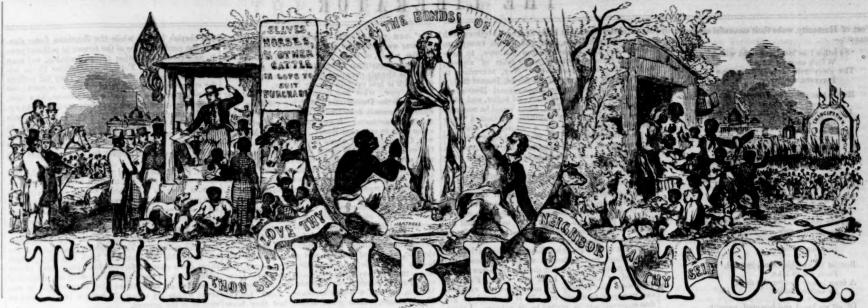
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ad Committee. - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS LAUNI, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, PHILLIPS. [This Committee is responsible inancial economy of the paper-not for

WH. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD-OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

TOL. XXII. NO. 37.

# BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1852.

WHOLE NO. 1129.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

Yes! it cannot be denied-the slaveholding ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves-an en-

gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-

sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons. . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

TAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-

TIONAL GOVERNMENT. - JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

SPEECH OF HON. HORACE MANN, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

of U. S. House of Representatives, Aug. 17, 1852. se said that one of the collateral consequences this country, has been to deprave, cordebauch public sentiment. When, before, history of the world, has it ever happened that story of the world, has it ever happened that ling men of a republic, and the leading or-public sentiment, supported by their wealth, public sentiment, supported by their wealth, bis the morally hideous spectacle our coun-

before, in the history of the world, have the penis minds in the community labored and blot out, theoretically and practically, the ble distinction between a man and a brute man soul and an inanimate chattel-to en a normal sound and enroit in our civil polity a vast, expanding and enroit in our civil polity a vast, expanding an in which conscience, reason, the capacities goe, and the inborn convictions of accountaimmortality, are made subservient and to bones and muscles, and put upon auclicks as incidents to the body that persenter, before, in all our history, have men of elocated power ever traversed the country, and sed letters and speeches, like the flakes of a stam, to subdue and harmonize the public to such stupendous wrongs? When, before, Mayflower crossed the ocean with her preden, has any one minister of the Puritan dared or ever desired to put on priestly enter the house of God, to defend slavery iline it? Sir, such things were never known it is a new spectacle for men and angels. ust give a new joy in the world of darkness.

is the promulgation from the halls of Conlaw' than the Constitution, or than any intion which any corrupt Congress may put.
Such a doctrine is nothing less than palpaflagrant atheism. If I am bound to obey any law or constitution, as my paramount rule of thenceforth that rule becomes my supreme arudge, and god; and I am compelled, by logi-resity, to abjure, renounce and depose all othhere cannot be two supreme rules of right,cknowledge myself bound by the divine law, ist disuber the latter. But if the Luman law be Higher Law,' and if it conflicts with God's law, if an bound to disobey the law of God. If the station be the 'Higher Law,' then we, on takgour seats in this House, and all magictrates and sister, when entering upon the duties of their ctive offices, ought not to take an oath before od to support the Constitution, but ought to swear stwards-provided it is convenient. I say, then, in this doctrine-which is one of the offshoots of that there is no higher law than the law of State, is pulpable and practical atheism. And it is perfectly well known to all who hear me, who frequent the purlieus of Congress, that ore is no butt of ridicule so common here—nothing but so readily and so frequently raises the 'loud ugh that speaks the vacant mind,'—as a fling or

nde the laws of God. And the last aggravation added to this inquity, when the politician dis-nies himself beneath the garb of a priest, and lanks his wickedness under the show of religion. esen feels a profounder reverence, or would departs words to express my abhorrence for clerical hypocrite, with whom religion is neia suctification of the soul nor a purification he body, but only a kind of policy of insurance and the retribution in another world for sins com-ted in this, accompanied all the while by knavish its on the part of the insured to cheat the Divine

out of His premium. Mr. Sutherland. I ask the gentleman from dissichasetts whether it is possible that the higher aw of God can come in conflict with the Constitu-

ther the Constitution comes in conflict with the

concincing and one of the higher law of ol, when he sheys every part of the Constitution? If can any good result come from discussing these any good result come from discussing these ral abstractions? Is not the spirit of the Conpast to a clause in the Constitution, which, filling to the best of my ability, would make Mr. Many. That is not to the point.

Mr. Surserland. It is the very point. You and ets - | say it with all possible respect - disturb the bany of this House and the country, by trying to apisses upon abstract questions of morality, ings of this House, or with correct public senti-lf I should undertake to make an issue beor if should undertake to make an issue beser ou and me upon the subject of slavery, it
ild be stong. Yet you get up here and attempt
make this issue before the country. You get
an issue upon an immuterial question of mofir, which simply tends to excite men, without
practical benefit.

Mr. W.

as pactical benefit.

Mr. Maxx. I hope the gentleman will not internet maximum further. His argument would have answered just as well in the time of Herod, the Tetrarch, which is used the order for the murder of all the children under two years of age. The murder-ore, doubtless, got ten-dollar commission fees for the condition. So, those who massacred 36,000 Protestants, a. S. Bartholomew's day, at the ringing of a signal Bartholomew's day, at the ringing of a signal went by the 'Higher Law' of the Pope, or his gereat, the King; and had not they their 'Union' are by it? And our Pilgrim Fathers were driving and had been supported by it? exile by the 'higher law' of a hierarchical

insent. And so, if you admit this doctrine, there is enounity, actual or conceivable, which may it be perpetrated and justified under it!

The gentleman says I am discussing 'immaterial lattections,' and raising issues that have no practical barner. Is the fugitive slave law an 'immaterial abstraction'?—a law which violates both the crime law and the Constitution of the country. Ask the free man, Gibson, who was sent into bondage and it, when as much entitled to his liberty as you ar I, whether that law has not some practical bearing on a practical question. Are not the Baltimore licts before the country? And have they no practical bearing, when their very purpose is to suppress before the country? And have they no prac-bearing, when their very purpose is to suppress beach; and when that purpose has been exe-again and again?—and the attempt has been elem, within the last half hour, upon me, to en-

theoretical and distant sins, and letting real and present onces escape. I do not believe in denouncing Hindoo suttees, because they are on the other side of the globe, and defending the extension of slavery in our own land. That sin has the beguiling defence of office and profits, not less than ours. But that sin destroys only the body; ours, the soul. The modern clergyman, of the 'lower law' school, can select some monster of the Old Testament—Darius, Nebuchadnezzar, or Jeroboam—and hold them up for execration, while they suffer the greater moral monsters of their own parishes to escape with impunity. They have no mercy for Jeroboam—old Hunker though he was—because he 'drove Israel from foll-though the was—and the follower is and unwrapped them, and empted eye of the perpetrator. They forget that it will be as true of the crimes of our day, as of ancient become the willing champions of the most remorseless of despotisms. ones, when the evanescent circumstances of the seduction have passed by—that then they, too, will stand out in the foreground of the historic canvas, in their full apoportions, and in their native deformity, hideous, unmitigated, and exectable. Had not Ananias and Sapphira a temptation every whit as strong to keep back from the apostles a part of the price of their possessions, as though they had been offered a sinecure chaplaincy in the Navy for defending the Fugitive Slave Law? We have historic proof that Benedict Arnold attempted to justify his treason, on the ground that he was seeking the best good of the colonies, just as his followers, in our times, seek in may be implicated in a bad system—as in the Eng-

Another consequence of most evil portent has

Another consequence of most evil portent has
grown out of the late political enthusiasm for slavery—I mean, a false interpretation of the law of

And now, having shown what a mighty wrong

s, or, under our Constitution, can be a traitor. The where she can set her foot.

United States never adopted, as again and again, and, therefore, there can be no accessories in treason, by construction.

And, besides all this, the 7th section of the Fugitive Slave Law provides a penalty for every act which a man can commit in assisting the escape of a slave; so that, if any such act were treason before, it is no longer so; for no legal principle is better settled, than that when a subsequent statute reduces the penalty provided in a previous one, the previous act is so far repealed, even without any repealing words. On any ground, therefore, the charge of Judge Kane is only inferior in monstrousness to the law whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate, law whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate. Law whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate.

The district attorney at Syracuse, having rendered that the names of thirty pieces of silver. They were him a present of thirty pieces of silver. They were three-cent pieces, however—ninety cents in the whole! The ancient Judas got larger pieces.—Such, however, is now the rivalry to fill his place, Such, however, is now the rivalry to fill his place, account themselves with the content the content themselves with the content the content themselves with the content the content the content the cont

It was said, also, that when Jerry, the alleged fu-

\*What is the following fling at the 'Higher Law, but explicit atheism:—

\*What is the following fling at the 'Higher Law, but explicit atheism:—

\*When nothing else will answer, they invoke religion, and speak of a higher law. Gentlemen, this North mountain is high, the Blue Ridge higher still the Alleghany higher than either, and yet this higher law ranges further than an eagle's flight above the highest peaks of the Alleghany. [Laughter.] No common vision can divern it; no conscience not transcendental and estatic can feel it; the hearing of common men merer learns its high behasts; and, therefore, one should think it is not a safe law to be acted on in matters of the highest practical moment. It is matters of the highest practical moment. It is mode, however, of the fanatical and factious abolitionists of the North.—Daniel Webster's Speech at Capon (Va.) Springs, June, 1851.

They have no mercy for Jeroboam—old Hunker though he was—because he 'drove Israel from following the Lord,' more especially as there was no chance for the Presidency, nor any tariff nor sale of dry goods to the South to tempt him. But they forget that each and all of the worst sinners whose names blacken the page of history, had their accompanying temptations, and their easuistry for self-defence, just as much as the offenders of our day.—
They forget, that when posterity looks backwards apon great crimes, as they stand out in historic relief, they are seen in their foul nakedness and deformity, and without any of the palliations or pretexts by which their wickedness was softened to the tempted eye of the perpetrator. They forget that it

the ground that he was seeking the best good of the colonies, just as his followers, in our times, seek to justify themselves by the far less plausible plea of saving the Union.

I know it is said, that if the doctrine of the 'Higher law' is admitted, all laws will be set at nought, and civil government be overthrown. All history from the contended for the higher law of God, have universally been the most faithful and obedient, when human laws were coincident with the divine. That the most sate of the properties of the most sate of the most sat identical principle in our nature, which makes us as they become victorious, and in their noble strivtrue to the will of God. makes us also true to all the just commands of men.\*

reason. Sir, you know, and we all know, that under the bloody reigns of British tyrants, trasson by construction was the great engine of political and personal vengeance. Under the old doctrine of constructive treason, if living lips dared to preach the gospel of freedom, they were forced to preach the doctrine of shiest submission to make the constructive treason, or hierarchy and practical actions of the statement of the stat gospel of freedom, they were forced to preach the doctrine of abject submission to ungodly laws; for the heads they belonged to were decapitated and borne on soldier's pikes through the streets of cities, and for the tribunal of history, on this subject. Free Sollers are charged with interfering with slavery within the purisdiction of the State where it is. This allegation is wholly unfounded. Our whole effort has been simply to keep it within the jurisdiction of the State where it is. This allegation is wholly unfounded. Our whole effort has been simply to keep it within the jurisdiction of the State where it is. We would not have it profane free territory. We would not have it profane free territory. We would not allow it to double its present domain; we would not see it blast, with nameless and innumerable woes, two-thirds of our territorial area on the Pacific coast, as it already has two-thirds on the Atlantic. This is all we have done. And, to the argument that, with only about three slaves to the square mile over all your territorry, you, gentlemen of the slave States, must have more To exclude all possibility of constructive treason, ander our Constitution, its framers defined that ofence in the following words:—

you, gentlemen of the slave States, must have more space, because you are becoming sufficiented by so close crowding, we simply reply, that we cannot ad-Treason against the United States shall consist world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already near enemies, giving them aid and comfort.'

The son against the United States shall consist world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already need a greater expanse of territory for comfortable room, that, too, will soon be crowded with three Judge Kane says, that whatever would make a man an accessory to the crime, in any other felony, makes him a principal in this; when the very intent of the new definition in our Constitution was so far to abrogate the English law. The emphatic word and the argument will speedily recur of the new definition, expressly excludes the accessory, in our definition, expressly excludes the accessory. sory. It is only the man who levies the war, or the being engulfed with the rest, so that the dove of man who adheres to the enemies of the country, who

is, or, under our Constitution, can be, a traitor. The whole structive treasons known to the worst days of English judicial tyranny—the very door which the framers of our Constitution intended to lock and doubleblock and fasten impregnably.

And again; the dectrine of accessories and the relation of accessories to principals, was a part of the English common law. That common has these United States never adopted, as has been decided again and again, and, therefore, there can be no accessories in treason, by construction.

Judge Kane is only inferior in monstrousness to the law whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate. A similar attempt to create constructive treason was made in the Syracuse cases; but the air of Western New York, being more electric with freedom, had a salutary effect upon the health of the court. Would to Heaven that these healthful breezers of the country could reach and sweep away the country could reach and sweep away the last more ban. It forbids the poet, whose lips from olden days have been touched as with live coals from off the heavenly altar—from ever again kindling the hearts of mankind with a divine enthusiasm. ling the hearts of mankind with a divine enthusiasm for liberty. It strikes out all the leading chapters from the book of the moralist. It puts its seal upon time district attorney at Syracuse, naving removed the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which is lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which is lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which is lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which is lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which is lips of the minister of Christ, when he would dehimself obnoxious and so that the suspected, in the rescue cases, at that christ obnoxious and so that the suspected in the newspapers, and so that the suspected in the newspapers, and so that the suspected in the newspapers, and so the christ obnoxious and so that the suspected in the rescue cases, at the suspected in the rescue cases, at the suspected in the newspapers, and so the christ obnoxious and the christ obnoxious and the christ that the ladies of the place had a meeting, and sent him a present of thirty pieces of silver. They were three-cent pieces, however—ninety cents in the whole! The ancient Judas got larger pieces.—they were three-cent pieces, however, is now the rivers to fill his place.

world-patriots, reformers, philanthropists, apostles, and Jesus Christ himself, are on the side of freedom. It was said, also, that when Jerry, the aneged is gitive in that case, reached Her Majesty's dominions, he put the irons with which he had been 'dressed' into a nice box, and sent them to President Fillmore.

Tyrants, usurpers, traitors, man-stealers, the whole-side robbers and marderers of nations, are on the side of slavery. The Baltimore Conventions enlist under the conventions of the latter. They affiliate with

dize the Slave Power, be made,—and if Gen. Pierce should be elected, such attempt will doubtless be made,—or should a new State, with a slave Constitution, from California, apply for admission; or should Mexico be again dismembered to form new territory, and new slave States; in the occurrence of these events, or either of them, how are these Bull be expected to grow on so wicked a stock. The first man sent into slavery under it, Adam Gibson, was a free man. When the claimant's agent these events, or either of them, how are these Bull be so, was a free man. When the claimant's agent these events, or either of them, how are these Bull be bloodhounds were muzzled, once the bloodhounds were muzzled, one the bloodhounds were muzzled. Sir, when any humane and intelligent man reflects upon the attributes of this law; and then turns to the said that the new events come within the terms of the said that the

dize the Slave Power, be made,—and if Gen. Pierce should be elected, such attempt will doubtless be made,—or should a new State, with a slave Constitution, from California, apply for admission; or should Mexico be again dismembered to form new territory, and new slave States; in the occurrence of these events, or either of them, how are these Biltimore recolutions to be then construed? We know perfectly well what claim will be set up. It will be said that the new events come within the terms of the prohibition—the easts faderis—and bind the nation to silence. It will be claimed that the resolutions cover not only all subjects, but all time; and enslave our children as well as ourselves.

I have exposed the character and extent of those resolutions. Let me now expose their motive. I charge upon those Conventions the base motive of attempting to silence discussion by force—as in this House and in the Senate the same spirit once rejected petitions, and would now silence debate—because they are conscious they cannot meet it by argument. The Fugitive Slave Law, for instance, is assailed by the jurist, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of th one of these arraignments. Their only resource, therefore, is the distardly denial of discussion and free speech. Like Louis Napoleon, who, having no possibility of reply to the accusations of treachery, perjury, and usurpation, forbids the accusations to be made. Among all our constitutional judges, and among all those mock judges called commissioners, there is not one who has met the arguments against the constitutionality of this law. They entrench themselves behind a feeble rampart of precedents as their only defence. Judge Noggins decides it to be constitutional, because Judge Scroggins had decided it to be so; and when we look back to Judge Scroggins had decided it to be so; and when we look back to Judge Scroggins for light, we find he decided it to be constitutional, because Judge Spriggins had held it to be so; chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, whom whom I regard as one of the ablest Judges who ever administered the common law, any where, virtually admitted, in the Sins case, that if the question of the constitutionality of this law were a new one, the affirmative could not be sustained. I repeat, then, it is a dastardly order to keep silence, because they cannot meet discussion. Necessity is their only defence.

The tyrant's plea excuse their day, list head.

taken away, not by a court and jury, but by a com-plaint and warrant. A claimant demands a human omnissioner. Is it replied, that the decision of the omnissioner that he is a slave, and not a free man, proves that he had no right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man? I retort, that before an unbought, unbribed, freeman's tribunal, there might have been a contrary decision; but you prejudged him to be a slave, by carrying him before a slave tribunal, and you robbed him of the first right of a free man, by depriving him of a free man's tribunal and trial. For him, and for his case, you abolish the trial by jury. And if, by virtue of such complaint and warrant, you can deprive any person, in any free State, of trial by jury, you can by the same rule deprive all the men in all the free States of this trial—that is, on can abolish that trial for all this class of cases; and then, by equivalent legislation, you can abolish it in all cases whatever. Where, then, is that right

shall be preserved?

The law, then, is palpably unconstitutional, beause it takes from a man presumptively free the
ight to be tried as a freeman; and it is because the

vides for and declares conclusive are abhorrent to reason, to common sense, and to the common law. It provides that evidence taken in a Southern State, at any time or place which a claimant may select, without any notice, or any possibility of knowledge, on the part of the person to be robbed and enslaved by it, may be clandestinely carried or sent to any place where it is to be used, and there sprang upon its victim, as a wild beast springs from its jungle upon the passer-by; and it provides that this evidence, thus surreptitiously taken and used, shall be conthus surreptitiously taken and used, shall be con-clusive proof of the facts of slavery and of escape from slavery. It does not submit the sufficiency of the evidence to the judgment of the tribunal; but it arbitrarily makes it conclusive, whether sufficient or arbitrarily makes it conclusive, whether sufficient or not. It abolishes the common law distinction between competency and credibility. Indeed, it abolishes the elementary idea of a court of justice itself, considered as a tribunal whose functions are, first and chiefest, to hear both sides, and then to discern between terth and fisher ideas, and then to discern between terth and fisher ideas, and then to discern between terth and fisher ideas. tween truth and falsehood. The heathen emblem of justice was that of a goddess, holding balances in her hand, and weighing with hely exactness all conflicting probabilities and testimonies. The true emblem of this law would be that of some Glossin law-

blem of this law would be that of some Glossin lawyer, clutching at ten dollars as a bribe, and trampling
the sacred balances under foot.

What would the Southern gentlemen who hear
me say, if, while attending to your duties in this
Hall, a miscreant in any Northern city or State,
without knowledge or possibility of knowledge on
your part, should now be suborning witnesses to obtain evidence that your house, your plantation, or
cotton crop, was his, and by and by should make his
appearance on your premises, demanding instant cotton crop, was his, and by and by should make his appearance on your premises, demanding instant possession, and, in case of refusal, or denur, should drag you before some ten dollar magistrate, read his conclusive proof, while you are forced to be dumb, and then thrust you out of estate, house and home? And yet this fugitive slave law is as much more by side,—the command and the prohibition together,

cannot meet discussion. Necessity is their only defence,

—'and with necessity,

The tyraut's plea, excuse their devilish deed.'

Let me state, in a few simple propositions, the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, which has been so much elaborated elsewhere:—

Excepting the army and navy, the Constitution of the United States declares that 'no person shall 's be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.' It also declares that, 'In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.'

Now, every case of claim for an alleged slave necessarily involves both the question of liberty and the question of property.

By the constitution of every free Stato in this Union, every person within it is presumed to be a free man; or, in other words, there is never any prima facie evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, is taken away, not by a court and jury. The prima facie evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, is taken away, not by a court and iury.

Taken are state court, taken in secret, against the native-born citizens of a free State.

And yet, with all these abominations on the face of the law, and after this long train of outrages in its administration, the Baltimore Whig resolutions, which, perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, declare that the law shall not be modified, unless 'time and experience' shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men live, that they do not call what has already happened an abuse!

A story is current respecting the origin of this unconstitutional, so abominations on the face of the law, and at the law shall not be modified, unless 'time and experience' shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men live, that the law shall not be modified, unless 'time and experience' shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men liv

under this fugitive slave law, a man's prima facie
right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, is
taken away, not by a court and jury, but by a comtaken away, not by a court and jury, but by a comtaken away, not by a court and jury, but by a comtaken away, and warrant. A claimant decompt a human to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution; its conbeing, presumptively free, as his slave, and that mere demand is made to cancel the presumption of freedom and self-ownership, to take him away from a freeman's tribunal of court and jury, and to carry him for trial before a slave tribunal—that is, a commissioner. Is it replied, that the decision of the patriots' struggles and by martyrs' blood; its fabrica-tion of such a code of evidence as was never before placed on the statute book of any civilized nation; its provisions for deciding conclusively the question of a man's liberty, in what is to him a foreign State, of a man's liberty, in what is to him a foreign State, and before what is to him a foreign tribunal, without the possibility of his appearing there to confront witnesses or even of knowing what the conspirators against him are doing; its peremptory orders to seize a man and try the unspeakably precious question of his freedom and self-ownership, 'in a summary manner,' when even robbers, pirates and murderers, must have notice of their accusation, adequate time to brepare for defence, and counsel. adequate time to prepare for defence, and counsel for assistance; its bribing magistrates to decide against liberty, and in favor of slavery, and its creat in all cases whatever. Where, then, is that right to a trial by jury which the Constitution declares shall be preserved?

The law, then, is palpably unconstitutional be. The law, then, is palpably unconstitutional, because it takes from a man presumptively free the right to be tried as a freeman; and it is because the Baltimore Conventions cannot answer this argument, that they forbid its promulgation.

And besides this, the proofs which the law provides for and declares conclusive are abhorrent to reason, to common sense, and to the common law, and any unconcentration of the statute of limitations, the policy of which is recognized by all civilized nations, not only in cases of debt, but in regard to the title to real estate, and even in regard to crimes,) so that a master who has abandoned his slave for forty years, can come and pluck him from wife and children, from home, property, and friends; and when, further, I see the practical workings of this law;—free Northerm citizens carried into bondage; Southern professors in the art of kidnapping—chasing the shricking fugitive from all his hidnapping—chasing the shricking fugitive from all his hidnapping loins, as lately happened in New York, to sell them into slavery; the virtuous woman hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and scourging she had field to avoid his guilty ambrace; thousands of laborious and peaceable citizens amongst us, surrounded by self-earned comfort and competence, fleeing from all the endearing relations of kindred and neighborhood, out of a republic into a monarchy, to regain the lost birth-right of freedom—thus remacting the scenes of the Huguenot flight under Charles IX.; and, as the crowning cruelty of the whole, an entire race of free people, of innocent people, of people whose ancestors fought and fell in the battles of the Revolution, and who have as much right, not merely to security and protection, in the battles of the Revolution, and who have as much right, not merely to security and protection, that the feeling of security and protection under our Government, as you or I,—when I see these people, filled with consternation and dismay for themselves and for their children, trembling when they look around them upon the earth, lest some tiger, in human shape, should spring from his ambush and seize them, and plunge them into slavery's hell, and trembling when they look upward into the sky, because God seems to have forsaken to the sky, because God seems to have forsaken them;—sir, when I contemplate all these things, I am compelled, though sgainst the common faith, to acknowledge evidence of supernatural inspiration in the hearts of men. But it is infernal and diabolical inspiration, whose evidences I recognize. Sir, this

fiat of the Baltimore Conventions, that it shall not be agitated or discussed, he cannot but tremble with an agony of indignation and contempt. These resolves are so subversive, not only of all divine, but of all human government; they are so audacious and yet so impotent; they assume so imperial an air, while yet they are more imbecile than an idiot's gibberish, that the great poet of our language, whose mind supplies redundant images for all things vile and mean, has but one passage that befits the vileness of this law. To borrow his words, these Baltimore resolu

> -birth-strangled babe, Ditch-delivered by a drab.

Justice and gratitude, however, demand that I should say, that there were 67 members of the Whig Con-vention who stood out bravely and to the last against this attempted abolition of the freedom of speech.— In the Democratic Convestion, there seems to have been scarcely a whisper of dissent.

been scarcely a whisper of dissent.

Sir, I cannot but acknowledge that the events I have recited have an ominous look for the cause of freedom. It seems as though the black cloud which has settled down over Europe was extending its gloomy folds across this country, to envelope in darkness and despuir the last hopes of liberty upon earth. But I have infinite faith in God and in truth. I believe that cloud to be surcharged with lightnings which will yet blast the oppressor. And, after the lightnings and the storm have passed, then shall come the day of universal freedom and joy.

Fulse as those Baltimore Conventions were to the Constitution of the United States, to the Declaration of Independence, to humanity, and to God, yet when

Constitution of the United States, to the Declaration of Independence, to humanity, and to God, yet when we come to scan their proceedings more closely, we find that they were amenable to a power they refused to acknowledge. It was there, as in the ancient mythology; the gods decreed, but there was an inexorable fate, standing behind the good, and controlling their decrees. That irresistable fate, which bound the Conventions as with a spell, and bemmed, in their desires and antitude for wrong which was in their desires and aptitude for wrong, which was a will within their will, was the genius of Northern

anti-elavery.

There were, at least, talf a dozen candidates, which the Democratic Convention vastly preferred to the one they finally took up with; and there was at least one, whom the Whig Convention, under the Southern pressure brought to bear upon them, would have consented to take, but for the uplifted arm of the North, which menaced inexorable defeat for any such selection, and would have terribly executed its menace. As in the vision of the Scottish seer, 'coming events cast their shadows before,' so here the coming thunders of the people's rebuke sent their echoes forward, and forbade both Conventions from echoes forward, and forbate both Conventions inscribing the more apostate names upon their banners. It was the Free Soil party of the North that held those thunders in its hands, and if it did not determine whom the Conventions should nominate, it did determine whom they should not.

Why did not the Democratic party nominate Gen.

Cass? For forty years he had stood conspicuously before the country; had served in early life, in a military capacity, on the northern frontier; been afterwards Governor of a territory now swarming with three millions of men; Ambassador abroad, and Cab-inet minister and Senator at home. Besides, he was a man of unblamable private life—one who, whatever sinister rewards he may have expected, never exposed himself to the imputation of bartering his integrity for 'dotations'; reputed, and, I believe, justly reputed, to be a temperance man, which fact, by itself, had he been a candidate against a man of intemperate habits, would have given him fifty thou-and votes in New England alone—a fact which fu-ture Presidential aspirants will do well to heed.— Why was not Gen. Cass nominated? His Nichol-Why was not Gen. Cass nominated? His Nicholson letter was the flaming barrier, which neither the perverse Balaam of Democracy, nor its Beast, was able to pass by! By that letter, as the returns of 1848 show, Gen, Cass struck off 100,000 votes from 1848 show, Gen, Cass struck off 100,000 votes from his ticket in the State of New York alone. Gen. Cass died of a modern disease, called 'letter-writing,' which has proved singularly fatal to Presidential candidates. The Nicholson letter was the malignant distemper that bioated and killed him.

Why was not Mr. Buchanan nominated—the facility of that green State which as also incline approximately.

vorite of that great State, which, as she inclines one way or the other, seems to rock and sway the Union, and determine the result in every Presidential election. He was a man of great powers—one whom Nature had laid out on a grand scale. When the history of this country is written, Mr. Buchanan's history of this country is written. Mr. Buchanan's name cannot be put in a parenthesis. He made Gen. Jackson, rather than Gen. Jackson him. His talents, with those of Gov. Marcy, of New York, were the salt that saved Mr. Polk's administration from puridity. He was a daring man. In 1848, in an official communication to the French Provisional Government, he boldly obtraded his counsels upon them for the formation of their Constitution, as though the new republic were his ward. Lumartine politely made a French bow in return; but saying, as he gave it, he would not tolerate advice from any other people God ever created. God ever created.

God ever created.

Why was not Mr. Buchanan nominated? Ah! he had been even bolder in his domestic policy than in his foreign. His offer to un the Missouri Compromise line through to the Pacific Ocean, and to sacrifice all South of that line on the altar of the Moloch of Slavery, was a grand act of apostacy to Northern sentiment and to freedom, which brought the films of death over his eyes. His coup delat was a coup de grace. He will be less successful in making such Northern platforms, than in making French Constitutions. In all the States north of Pennsylvania, during the 49 ballotings, he rarely received more than half-a-dozen votcs; and I think his average in those States did not come up to that insignificant, or those States did not come up to that insignificant, or rather, to that significant number.

And what was the fate of the Senator from Illi-

And what was the fate of the Senator from Illinois, whom some sagacious and over-reaching Whig called the Young Giant—a nickname which his own friends were silly enough to adopt. I say silly, for every body knows that the common notion which the common people have of a 'young giant' is that of unnatural and precocious animal development. The very name conjures up images of rowdyish passion and appetite, of nocturnal revels, of a sort of wild, obscene force, unchastened by the lessons of experience, and untempered by Nestorian wisdom. What was his reward for his implied or understood offer of the annexation of Cuba? From the four States of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, he never, at any one time, received more than sixhe never, at any one time, received more than six-teen votes, and in four-fifths of the ballotings, he re-ceived but five or six. In winning the South, he for-

'Vaulting ambition that o'erlesps itself
And falls on t'other side!'

Or, as a graver poet has expressed it, these worship-pers at the Southern shrine, while they renounced Northern constituencies, were

hike idiots gazing in a brook,
Who lesp at stars, and lasten in the mud." t cannot stop to chamerate the victims in detail.— The slain Hectors may have a monument, and be re-membered; but it is the felicity of the vulgar herd, in an ungodly contest, that they rot in a forgotter

Long before the Baltimore Convention met, we ha supposed that the Northern Democratic aspirants for supposed that the Northern Democratic aspirants for the Presidency had done their worst; that they had drunk the last dregs of the cup of humiliation. But Southern genius seems exhaustless in resources for Northern debasement. Some unknown political up-start in Richmond, (Virginia,) obtruded himself into start in Richmond, (Virginia,) obtruded himself into notice by shouting out the two words, 'PRESIDENCY,' 'PRO-SLAVERY,' to all the candidates, and, instantly, thirteen of them were et his feet. He put to them some 'more last questions' in the catechism of infa-my—' whether, if they should be elected, they would veto any bill repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and so forth. All answered as his questions indicated they must. Forgetful of the nature of the oath they longed to take, forgetful that it is a visual table. olation of the whole spirit of our government for the Executive to interfere with Congress, by tell-ing them beforehand what acts of theirs he will ot approve, they all hastened to give the desired response. He did not send them a pro-slavery creed, with a blank left for their signatures, but he compelled them to write out their own shame with their own hands. He did not send the collar and chains all ready for them to put on; but he said, forge m and rivet them on yourselves; and, submissive

them and ever them on yourselves; and, submissive, they forged them and riveted them on, and expressed gratitude for the favor.

And now, where are those thirteen Democratic candidates? And where, too, are those two Whig candidates, who, within the last two years, have done every conceivable thing, and a thousand things before inconceivable, to propitate the slave power? Gone, vir; all gone, with those who perished at Ty-bern! They rebelled against humanity and against God, and verily they have their reward. They mounted a platform, where they hoped to be crowned, amid the hozzas of the people; but an avenging Nemesis stood there, and, in the twinkling of an eye, changthe huzzs of the people; but an avenging Nemesis stood there, and, in the twinkling of an eye, clang-ed it into the 'drop platform' of the executioner.— Sir, when a single malefactor receives at the hands of justice his well-merited doom, the moralist seizes the example to give a warning to others who may noted, in like cases, to offend. He points to the tempted, in like cases, to offend. He points to the ignominious body of his victim, and, as the herald of God, he proclaims the eternal law, that crime never compensates the criminal. He declares that, until finite man can overpower or circumvent the infinite Creator, the retributions of sin shall pursue the sin-If the preacher does this when he has but ergy and emphasis is given to his admonitions when there are fifteen victims before him!

Now, there are two or three general observations Now, there are two or three general observations on this impressive spectacle, which I wish to make. In the first place, all the leading candidates of both Conventions were Northern men. Would not the historian have signalized the event as something most extraordinary, if fifteen Southern champions of slavery, born and bred in its midst, whose very growth, bodily and mental, had been only the accretion of pro-slavery particles and ideas, and who were committed to the institution by a life-long series of acts, had suddenly gone over to Northern Free Soilers, and offered to stand upon their platform to obtain their votes? Would it have at all diminished the narvel, if these fifteen Southern applicants for Northern support, with all the followers whom lust of power or of money could enlist, had gone through all the South vociferating that, unless they should adopt the Free Soil platform, the Union would be dissolved? I think such a chapter in history would never cease to create amazement and wonder. Is it not infinitely more wonderful, in this age of the world, that Northern men should do for slavery what we could never expect, at one time, so many Southern men to do even for freedom?

My second remark pertains to the number of the candidates. Never were there even half so many on the Presidential race-course before. Now, why were they so numerous, as well as all from the North?--The answer is obvious. The South had said again and again, and most explicitly to the North, 'Give ns your most pro-slavery man, and we will adopt him.' It is easy to see that when moral, or even in-tellectual, qualifications are the test, in choosing a President, the candidates must be few; but, if devotion to slavery is the sole test, then there may not only be fifteen, but five hundred, or five thousand.— In this way the competitors became so numerou that the chances of success were worth nothing. blanks are to the prizes a hundred to one. It was a poor speculation for the presidential aspirants to put the price of the office so low that anybody, however obscure before, could become a rival. Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, Dallas, Dickinson, &c., should have thought of this before they entered the lists, and put themselves on an equality with a man whom not one in five thousand out of New Hamp-shire could remember ever to have heard of before, and yet who plucked the prize out of their hands.

Another remark is, that the Southern vote, in both

Conventions, could have been concentrated at any with one remarkable exception-which I will mention by and by—provided only that the Northern men could have united upon him. At any moment, the South would have accepted Gen. Cass, or Mr. Buchanan, or Gov. Marcy. In the Whig Convention, the South was most anxious to take more; but it was impossible to bring the North to his support. Each of them, by the eagerness of his pro-slavery course, had signed his own deathwarrant in States enough to defeat him. And as to Mr. Fillmore, on whom the South were more unanimous than on any one of all the other candidates, his bloody right hand had signed the Fugitive Slave Law; and, therefore, it was as certain, as anything future can be, that he could not obtain a single electo ral vote north of Mason & Dixon's line. The infinite mercy of God may wash that blot from his name in another world, but it can never be forgotten in this And thus they all came under that great moral law, which forever cries 'Woe! woe!' to the offender.—
Fascinated by the brilliancy of the prize, they forgot

A Voice. What do you say of Gen. Pierce?

Max. Some one inquires what I say of Gen.

Pierce. I say of Gen. Pierce, that if he had been conspicuous in the pro-slavery contest for the last two years; if he had been known as the ardent lover of the Fugitive Slave Law, and had answered the Richmond Scott letter about a veto of it, he never would have received the Baltimore nomination.—
Some other man would have been exhumed for the occasion. Not knowledge of him, but ignorance of

Voice. How of General Scott? MR. MANN. Had Gen. Scott devoted himself to the cause of slavery for the last two years, as his competitors had done, he would not have been nominsted. His short-comings in that iniquity, as every body knows, is the reason, and, I might almost say, the sole reason, why the South and the pro-slavery part of the North oppose him. But, for this, the South would prefer him before either of his rivals.

In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points which I propose to elucidate—his position of special and marked hostility to slavery in 1848, what he did for the cause of slavery in 1850, and how the South requited him in 1852. His case is peculiarly impressive. Instructive warnings as all the others are, vet 'the Secretary stands alone.' ak of his downfall in no spirit of personal exultation, though he has done me the greatest wrong. Because, when sitting on the top of his political Olympus, he hurled his shafts at me, I scorn to retaliate when he lies deserted and despairing at its base. The man does not live, (unless now it be who felt a more poignant grief at his ruin than was felt in this heart of mine. But it was not on the 21st of June last, and at Baltimore, that he fell; but on the 7th of March, 1850, in the Senate United States. It was then that he sunk his beaming forehead in the dust, never again, I fear, to he lifted up. It was then that he tore from his bro the glorious diadem of fame, and cast his clustered stars away—a diadem richer than ever blazed upon the brow of royalty, for its gens were not gathered from rock or mine, but from the more precious treasures of wisdom and eloquence. Then thousand of bearts were wrung with anguish, as cold, relentless, and blaspheming, those apostate doctrines fell from his lips. I say no bosom, save now perhaps his own, was ever more deeply saddened at the spectacle of that moral ruin, than mine. As I think of him now, ever-recurring and dirge-like, do the elegiac stains, written for the occasion by the great

The glory from his gray hairs gone Forevermore! Revile him not-the Tempter hath

A snare for all; And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath, Befit his fall!

Oh! dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark A bright soul driven, Fiend-goaded down the endless dark, From hope and heaven!

Let not the land, once proud of him, Insult him now, Nor brand with deeper shame his dim, Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,

From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make. Of all we loved and honored, naught

Save power remains—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains. All else is gone: from those great eyes
The soul has fled!
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days To his dead fame : Walked backward, with averted gaze, And hide his shame!

Still. I should leave this part of my subject maimed and incomplete, should I forbear to draw the moral which the fate of this eminent man so im pressively teaches. In the history of this world, it is inexpressively sad that offences should come. It would be still more sad if we could not use them to warn others from offending. Besides, the drama, in one of whose scenes we were brought together upon the stage and enacted a part, has now been played out, and I am now able to establish by history all the positions I then maintained by argument. The grandeur of Mr. Webster's intellect—the

first point always made in his defence - I readily admit. On this point I give his friends carte blanche of concession and agreement-the whole argument

their own way.

But, on the next point, I claim to have the whole concession and argument my own way: -- that though his intellect were fitted to fill a 'Dome of Thought,' vast as one of those Egyptian statues that have been lately found on the banks of the Nile, from whose craniums the natives have long been in the habit cutting mill-stones without sensibly diminishing their bulk, yet if he could exchange it all to blot ou the history of the 7th of March speech, he would make a divine speculation.

For proof of this, I might cite volumes. I might

refer to his pilgrim address at Plymouth, and his reply to Col. Hayne, and select something from almost every page of those volumes of eloquence—beautiful as painting, and grand as statuary—whose appeals fell upon men's hearts like an affatus of the spirit of God. With all this, I might then contrast what he has written and spoken since the day of his downfall, pictorial as it is, with emblems of whips and chains, of auction-blocks, and shricking fugitives, fleeing from the bloody lash and the lecher and finding no protection in the sactuary of Faneui Hall, or under the shadow of Bunker Hill, or by the sacred monuments of Lexington and Concord.

But I will confine myself to a single item of proof

irrefragable and conclusive:The Buffalo Convention of 1848, proclaimed its determination 'to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power, and to cure free soil for a free people.'

It declared its 'independence of the slave power,

and its fixed determination to rescue the Federal

Government from its control.'
It declared that the proviso of Jefferson to prohibit slavery in all the territories, and the ordinance of 1787. excluding slavery from the North Western Territory, 'clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from,

ne government ought to return.'
It declared 'that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible

or its existence.'
It declared 'that the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an Congress, It declared that we accept the issue which the

Now, contrast this full, explicit, comprehensive, and apparently ingenuous subscription and adhe-sion to all the doctrines and articles of the Buffalo platform, in 1848, with the 7th of March speech in 1850, and with all that has since followed it from

same source, urely, if General Jackson, in 1836, in order to obtain a third election, had courted and defended the United States Bank, written and spoken through all the Eastern cities in its behalf, and made James Watson Webb and Nicholas Biddle his bosom con-Watson Webb and Nicholas Biddle his bosom confidents and counsellors; surely, if Mr. Clay, in 1848, had declared for free trade, against all tariffs, against river and harbor improvements, and against all the policy that had most signalized his life; surely, if Mr. Calhoun, during the controversy respecting the new Territories, had suddenly avowed himself the disciple of Clarkson and "/ilberforce, and had raised the standard of 'immediate emancipation,'—surely, Isay, neither of these events would have furnished such ample material of contradiction and amazement as ample material of contradiction and amazement as is supplied by the melancholy case I am now con-sidering. After having nortured, tutored, and led Northern anti-slavery sentiment for thirty years; after having claimed the 'patented thunder' of the Wilmot proviso; and after having discovered the Wilmot proviso; and after having discovered the North star, in a single day, without premonition or cause of change, Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more Southern than South Carolina, and becomes Calhouner than Mr. Calhonn.

Where shall the searcher of history find a parallel

for this? I know of none. I can conceive but one —that of Moses, from the confines of Jordan, and the top of Pisgah, commanding the children of Israel to march back into the land of Egypt, for re-subjugation to Pharaoh; yet striving to persuade them that the 'geography' and 'scenery' of the Nile would render slavery there impossible.

And yet when the trial-hour of the Baltimore Convention came, what did he gain by it all? A single Southern State? Not one. A single delegate from a Southern State? Not one. With all the efforts a Southern State? Not one. With all the efforts that official power, and the wealth of cities, and amazing industry could make; with all the subscription nominations, and Faneuil Hall meetings, and Castle Garden committees, and Wall street, and State street, and subsidized presses, fraudulent hopes of tariff and Southern trade could effect, Mr. Webster could rally but an average of twenty-nine votes in a Convention of almost three hundred members, and never, on any balloting, according to the political thermometer which measured his nonularity, didical thermometer which measured his nonularity, did and never, on any balloting, according to the political thermometer which measured his popularity, did he rise above thirty-two degrees—the point of eternal congelation! No Southern State gave him a vote! No Southern State gave him a vote! No Southern delegate was sent there to give him a vote. Fifty-three opportunities occurred, extending from day to day, and, according to the account published in the Boston Courier, from a professed eye-witness of the scene, the Northern friends of the Deposites,] vol. 4, p. 92.

Poet of Humanity, wake their mournful echoes in my breast:

'So failen! so lost! the light withdrawn Which once he wore!

Mr. Webster besought their Southern brethren with prayers and entreaties, sad and tearful enough to have melted flint, to have melted platinum, to have melted anything but the infusible heart of slavery. melted anything but the infusible heart of slavery, and yet they were inexorable. Nay, according to the published statement of his friend, Doctor Bell, a delegate from the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, after the fifty-second ballot, and when it became certain that Gen. Scott would be nominated the next time, these Southern gentlemen 'were earnestly appealed to, as a matter of courtesy, to place our candidate [Mr. Webser] right [wrong?] on the page of history, to unite in the final vote on Mr. Webster, which would have left him with some one hundred and twenty or thirty votes'—they refused to give him even that empty compliment. So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster, for the last eighteen months, that I, and all those with

So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster, for the last eighteen months, that I, and all those with whom I am politically associated, have foreseen it and predicted it with as much confidence as an as-tronomer foretells un eclipse. Let us trust that the fate of such victims will not be lost for the future upon the Northern men.
Sir, out of this Fugitive Slave Law has arisen an

ill-sounding, half barbarous word, to express the wholly barbarous idea that the law is never to be repealed or modified. It is the word 'Finality.' This word has already got into somewhat common use in regard to its objects. It is destined to get into universal use in regard to its authors. I think General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, with many others, have by this time an interior and realizing sense of what the word an interior and realizing sense of what the word finality' means. Though too late for them to profit by it, I hope it will be blessed to the use of others.

And what palliation, what pretext, what subterfage even, had these men for such betrayal of human beta. Nothing literally are the profit of rights? Nothing, literally nothing, but that fraudu-lent idea of 'danger to the Union;' that cry of wolf,' which the South always raises when she has an object to accomplish; and which she will always ie to raise, on pretences more and more shadowy and evanescent, the more we have the folly to heed it. The same threat is now, at this instant time, made, if the North does not give them their choice in the two candidates for the Presidency.

Among redundant proofs, demonstrating that the Union has been in no peril, nor shadow of peril, there are two which never have been answered, and never can be answered. Notwithstanding vas done in this House, and more especially in the Senate, and by all the pro-slavery presses and pro-slavery champions, North and South, during the year 1850, to create a panic in behalf of the Union. they were never able to effect the price of United States stocks, neither in this country nor in Europe, so that the difference could be discovered with a microscope. Now, of all men living, stockholders and annuitants are the most sensitive. Universally they are a timid race. If there be a cloud in the heavens, or a ripple on the surface, they fear wreck, and shout the alarm. But timid as they constitutionally are, not politicians nor panic-makers could discompose their screnity by all their insane cries about the crumbling of the Union to pieces; and there was not a member of the Castle Garden committees who would have taken one cent less, or would not have given every cent as much, for United States securities on the days when they sent forth their fraudulent resolves, as before or after.

On this point I will cite an authority whose sound-ness upon the question in issue I believe in, and cer-tainly my opponents will not dispute:

. We have preserved and fostered credit till all have become interested in its further continuance and preservation. It has run deep and wide into our whole system of social life. Every man feels the vibration when a blow is struck upon it. And this is the reason why nobody has escaped the influence of the Secretary's recent measure. While credit is delihe Secretary's recent measure. While credit is deli-ate, sensitive, easily wounded, and more easily darmed, it is also infinitely ramified, diversified, ex-ending everywhere, and touching everything.

And yet the very men who, in their capacity of politicians, shricked 'danger to the Union,' in their other capacity of stock-dealers and merchants, never varied their asking or their giving prices one jot or tittle. They cried 'earthquake,' when not a rumble could be heard, nor a jar felt; and they tried to make us believe that a tornado was uprooting the forests, when nobody could see a leaf on a tree moving.

No! the cry of danger to the Union was raised to divert the attention from their assaults upon the Constitution. It was the latter and not the former

that was in danger.

Another reason, and it is a standing and continuous one, why there was no danger to the Union. consists in the fact that the South according to their own estimate, are under bonds of \$1.500,000,000 to keep the public peace. Let them break up this Union, and their property in slaves, which they now value at this enormous sum, will not, at the end of a quarter of a century, be worth so many groats. Does anybody imagine that this Union can be dissolved without civil commotion, without revolution by arms? Sir, this is a subject inconceivably painful; but it is possibility spoken of and sported with by others with such levity, that I am constrained to invest it with some of its appropriate solemnities. Does any one believe there can be two border nations, one founded on the principle of freedom, and the other It declared 'that we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States—no more slave territory. And what did Mr. Webster say of this platform, within one month after it had been adopted? This is language. is his language:—

'I have said, gentlemen, that in this Buffalo platform, this collect of the new school, there is nothing new. There is nothing in it that all the Whigs of the new of fire-arms, and the menage of the horse. The story of their oppressions is recounted every northern and middle States may not adopt. Gentlemen, it is well known that there is nothing in the story of their oppressions is recounted every many that there is nothing in the story of their oppressions. The story of their oppressions is recounted every hundlet and at every fire-side. The northern and middle States may not along. day, in every names and at every milk and with men, it is well known that there is nothing in this mothers nurse their children with milk and with Buffalo platform which, in general, does not meet the vengeance together. The knowledge of a North Buffalo platform which, in general, does not meet the approbation of all the Whigs of the middle and northern States. Suppose, now, that all of us who are Whigs should go and join the Free Soil party, that would be the result? Why, so far nothing would self-tennecipation. A dissolution of the Union restar is penetrating further and further into the Southmorthern States. Suppose, now, that all of us who
are Whigs should go and join the Free Soil party,
what would be the result? Why, so far nothing would
happen, but that the Whig party would have changed
its name. That would be all. Instead of being the
Whig party, it would be the Free Soil party. We
should be all there, exactly upon the same principles
upon which we have always stood.'

star is penetrating further and further into the Southren interior, and arousing new hearts to the effort of
self-emoncipation. A dissolution of the Union recall the would be all the soil of the soil of
Canada and the British Provinces—the only free soil of
there now is on the northeastern part of this continent—is brought down to Mason and Dixon's line.
We have in the Northern States a population of two
bundled thousand of African descent. In case of hundred thousand of African descent. In case of war between the two sections, thousands of this colored race will fly to the land of bondage swift as they ever flew from it. They will go to make desolation of the realm that once made desolation of them, and of all they held dear. Under their avenging cry, insurgents will rise up like an exhalation over all the South. There are no motives more terri ble than those which arge a bondsman to his revenge Perpetual proximity between master and slave furnishes perpetual opportunity for retribution. Every house is an arsenal of weapons; every tool on the plantation an instrument of death. Fire and dark ness are allies which nature profers him. In this warfare, the master does not go into the battle alone his wife and children are at his side, whose weakbeauty, in presence of an imbrote foe, may provoke the first assault. Ay, sir, in a civil or a servile war, the South will be in a more perilous condition than if every kernel of gunpowder in all the magazines of an army just on the eve of battle, should suddenly become animated, and set itself on fire. If the South wish to exhibit to the world, on a magnificent scale, the natural retributions of slavery; if they wish to realize, in their own fair land, and by Hyder Alis of their own, Burke's terrible picture of the desolation of the Carnatic, they have but on thing to do, and that is to dissolve this Union. Bu

I do not fear that any such madness will possess them.

As I said before, they are under bonds of \$1,500. As I said before, they are under bonds of \$1,500,-000,000 to keep the peace, and their wives and daughters are sureties in the bonds. All wealth that is consumable, all affection that is destructible, all chastity that is violable, are pledged for the fulfil-

ment of their vows. Waiving a hundred other facts and considerations, the two which I have now specified are sufficient to show that this cry of 'danger to the Union' was wholly baseless and deceptive.

From another point of the compass, and from an independent series of facts, a similar moral may be drawn for future presidential aspirants. Neither the Democratic party nor its Northern leaders had anything to gain by the Mexican war, and yet they plunged headlong into it at the dictation of the South. The Whig party, as such, always pronounced the war itself to be an aggression, and its terri-torial acquisitions a robbery. Yet the great body of this party voted the supplies that ratified its incep-tion. Opposition to the war of 1812 had proved politically disastrous to many of those who made it; and it was foreseen that opposition to the Mexican war might be attended with similar results. Hence

tiny' men were allowed to have their way; and so the war was continued at an estimated expenditure in the whole, of more than \$200,000,000,000, and the ultimate acquisition of territory, some portion of which is already occupied by slaves, and two thirds of which is laid open to slavery by law.

And now, what has been the effect of that war upon both the Democratic and Whig civilians, who either vigorously sustained it, or opposed to it only a feeble resistance? It made the Cæsars who have come back to rule over Rome. But for the Mexican war, General Taylor would have temained a 'frontier colonel,' as Mr. Webster sneeringly called him, and not even linacy would have conceived of him for President. But for the Mexican war, General Scott, though in honor and in bravery retaining his invincibility, would have lacked, to political wooers, the more potent charm of availability, and would never have been nominated. And but for the Mexican war, the shades of oblivion would soon have perfected their easy work of hiding the name of General Pierce from the world forever. And now, behold the civilians, Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, and the rest, who stood sponsors and godfathers for that bloody deed. Defeated in 1848 by the very man whom the war they supported had raised up! General Taylor discomfited only one Santa Anna in Mexico, but half a dozen at home. Look, too, at Mr. Webster, whose giant blows, had they been struck at the fitting time, might have broken the helmet and pierced the mailed armor of that Mars; yet see him thrust aside in 1848 to make room for one hero born of that war; and in 1852, hardly alhelmet and pierced the mailed armor of that Mars; yet see him thrust aside in 1848 to make room for one hero born of that war, and in 1852, hardly allowed to enter his name as a competitor against another. In 1852, also, see General Pierce, who had about as much to do with the Mexican victories, as little Iulus had to do with the Trojan war, yet plucking the nomination from Cass. Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, and all the rest. The camp triumphs over Cabinet and Senate. The cadnat arma togat is read backwards. How many of these warriors will remain in 1856, and in 1860, to shoulder aside the civilians for the third and fourth time, because they were false to their duty in waging or in tolerating that war, remains to be seen. But what a righteous retribution for those civilians, who, at first, might have prevented, or afterwards who, at first, might have prevented, or afterwards as specimen of poetic justice, romance or drama has nothing finer.

I have, at first, might have prevented, or afterwards with a proper to present, before the first of the seen that the property of the same of statesman, be, only, is fit to preside visit and anticipated share of the \$200,000.000 or two hundred millions of Californians, with a righteous retribution for those civilians.

I shall have sufficiently disobeyed and defied the Baltimore resolutions, for this time, and shall be ready to sit down. As I said before, present omens forebode ill to the cause of freedom in this land; but a more searching analysis throws a cheering ight upon our prospects,

light upon our prospects.

Let us see, in the first place, why it is that the North, with almost two-thirds of the population and of the votes of the whole Union, is controlled on all questions pertaining to slavery by the other third belonging to the South. The answer is at hand. We at the North are divided into two parties, Whigs and Democrats, who balance, and, in all political contests, neutralize each other. Nominally, the South is divided into the same parties, but, in what-ever regards slavery, it is undivided and a unit—indissoluble as the Stamese twins; for where you find Chang, you are sure to find Eng. On tariffs, river rhor improvements, and so forth, they carry on a feeble and somnolent warfare among them-selves; but whenever the tocsin of slavery is sound-on Saturday and Sunday last, at Harwich. In conuntil a practical anti-slavery party is formed at the North, to balance this pro-slavery party of the South, and to do battle for liberty as they do for slavery. Such a party, in sufficient numbers to contend suc

power, are our allies, and therefore of the latter. I say the area of the former ing the great staples of commerce which the whole civilized world will have and are ready to pay for, gives to the South at least a two-fold advantage width of water, illustrates this problem, even to school boys. It is slavery, and slavery alone, that has struck them down from their lofty pre-eminence; that has dwarfed their gigantic capacities, and driven them to maintain an account. Northern politicians, instead of exulting in the legitimate superiority of home-born and undecaying

the laws of nature, the laws of population and

hich always has been, and always will be exemplified in the history of mankind-the law that all error is weakness; that all wickedness is dementis law, fixed as gravitation, error tends to ruin. and moral wrong to imbecility. Let any individual act upon a false theory, and in that, his hopes will be disappointed, and his fortunes maimed. Let a community legalize false principles, or adopt evil less, nstitutions into its organic law-which is its sen--its strength becomes taintless, and is glory turns black. False notions, or even ignorance about the laws of health, bring disease upon an individual, or epidemics upon a country. False conclusions in the philosophic and inventive genius of the world in irons for two thousand years; but then they passed into everlasting contempt. False maxims in government, and false practices in political economy, have worked out the terrible problem of Ireland's ruin, sending almost two millions of her people through disease and staryation into the grave or the contemporary of the compromise. through disease and starvation into the grave, or inexile, within the last ten years, and completing

Now, as slavery is error and wickedness combin ed, it must incur the penalties ordained of God against both. As it corrupts domestic virtue, contravenes the natural laws of a nation's prosperity and growth, excludes and drives away those who are instinct with the love of freedom, from settling within its borders, makes general education impossi-ble, and eviscerates from the Gospel of Jesus Christ the highest and purest of its principles and precepts, it follows by a law of adamantine necessity, that the ody politic, which suffers it, is vulnerable in every body politic, which suffers it, is uninerable in every part, and that physical and moral death besieges every gate of its citadel. Slavery assails all the laws of God broadside; and it must, therefore, receive His retributions broadside.

These are but specimens of the weakness which is always inflicted by error, and of the fatuity

that ensues from moral wrong. They are specimens of those 'Higher Laws' of God, which fulfil their

as nothing finer.

I have, sir, but one topic more to present, before takes in the vast relations of cause and effect; whose judgment is determined by what must be, in the future, cs well as by what exists in the present, and who never erects a superstructure of constitution or law for the protection or the enjoyment of any hu man interest, without laying its foundations on th

# The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, SEPT. 10, 1852.

SPIRIT OF THE CAPE

The annual gathering of the active and progressiv

friends of impartial freedom, on Cape Cod, took place ed, they awaken to seize their arms, and form in sequence of the limited notice that had been given, it solid column for a quick-slep march to the point in was not supposed that the attendance would begin to contest. Hence, by obtaining the feeblest support from the North—generally speaking by stealing marches upon us, while we are engrossed by our actions and the supposed that the number that appeared on the ground last year, which was unusually large; but, to the general surprise and gratification, the asnominal division of parties, therefore, is very far
from being the true one. The country is, and for a
largely of the best people to be found on the Cape, or long time has been, for all purposes aside from the spoils of office, divided into three parties of very nearly equal numbers—the Whigs and Democrats of the North, and the pro-slavery party of the South -the latter, with the slightest aid, or even with the bring salvation to man; and considering how widely acquiescence from either of the others, being able scattered is the population of the Cape, and that very prevail. And this will continue to be the case, many are absent at this season, this was a strong demonstration. The number of vehicles on the ground presented an animating spectacle, and extending in all directions into the woods as they did, it wore a subwith its antagonists, may not be immediate- limely primitive aspect. Harwich, Chatham, Hyanly formed, and therefore I see before us a , riod of struggle and trial. But the spirit of God is on our side in this work. The laws of the moral universe, occasion. Three meetings were held in Union Hall occasion. Three meetings were held in Union Hall naws of nature, the laws of population and er, are our allies, and therefore we must prevail, on Saturday, and one in the same hall on Sunday ook at the amazing fact that the Southern States, evening; and two in the beautiful grove adjacent with more than double the area of the Northern, during the day on Sunday, making six in all. We after an experiment of more than sixty years of free have attended many popular gatherings, but never government, have but about half the free population have we been present at one where the general decorum and interest were more remarkable than on means the only element of their natural superiority.

this occasion. The weather was in the highest deTheir milder climate, their more fertile and easily gree delightful, the very perfection of the season;
cultivated soil, and its happy adaptation for producmeetings eminently satisfactory and profitable.

Robert Crosby was called to the chair, and J. 1 Sanderson appointed Secretary. The principal speakover the North, acre for acre, or State for State. Sanderson appointed Secretary. The principal speak-With their super-eminent and easily-understood crs were Charles C. Burleigh of Connecticut, Charles advantages, the Southern section of this Union Lenox Remond of Salem, J. B. Sanderson of Sandmight possess, and but for slavery, would to-day possess three-fold the population of the Northern section—all free, all blessed with more abounding embellishment, education, and universal culture.

As compared with the North in all that gives inthemselves admirably, as identified by their complexdividual independence or social strength, instead of being as one to two, they should be as three to one. Ohio and Kentucky, separated only by a ribbon's with of water illustrate.

that has dwarfed their gigantic capacities, and driven them to maintain an ascendency—blumately enterprise to determine whether one day in the week worthless, and worse than worthless—by suborning is more holy than another; or whether the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice-a completely inspired volume; or whether the church and ministry And thus is the only fulfillment of an eternal law are divinely called and instituted; but its sole object is, to overthrow, through a faithful application the truth to the consciences of the people, a vast, legalized system of robbery, cruelty, uncleanness, murder, and soul-debasing heathenism; and to put every slave on the American soil in the full possessi his inalienable and heaven-derived rights. Neverthe-

Resolved. That in behalf of the anti-slavery enter prise, we explicitly declare, that, being inherently just, holy and true, and embracing all the interests of man alike for time and for eternity, there is no day too sapolitical economy bankrupt a city, or the treasury of a nation. False metaphysical or theological dograss cramp the faculties, vitiate the knowledge, and repress the aspirations of their possessors, and the schools or the sects that adopt them dwindle into weakness, become contemptible, and perish. God kills out error by the meanness of its results. Neither caste, primogeniture, nor hierarchy can save it. The false notions of Aristotle, about the perfectness of the circle for motion, and the law of equilibrium of fluids, with other absurdities, kept the philosophic and inventive genius of the world

measures' which God presents to this guilty nation by processes which make 'destruction sicken,' the dreadful demonstration of a crime which was begun six centuries ago, and has now passed into the Gehenna of eternal execration wherever history ours to the end of the conflict.

The hospitality of our friends at Harwich was un bounded. The sum of \$33 50 was raised for the cause

## SPEECH OF HORACE MANN.

We complete the publication of this speech, in present number, to the exclusion of many articles on file for insertion. Its great length is as nothing to its great merits, and will deter no one who is interested in the mightiest struggle of the age from giving it thorough perusal. It is marked by all the best char acteristics of its gifted and eminent author, and will add much to his well-earned reputation on both side of the Atlantic. The closing portion of it is particu-larly impressive, appealing as it does to the highest moral and religious sentiments of the human mind. Next week, we shall commence the publication of destiny, whether men heed them or defy. They crush the restraint, while resisting, and silence the blasphemer in mid volley.

If the Northern States of this Union, therefore, upwards of three hours: the very able, elaborate and eloquent speech of Mi Sumner, on his motion for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. The time occupied in its delivery was

CAPT. DRAYTON IN NEW BEDTIE A public meeting was held in Sears's Hilly Bedford, on Sunday evening last, to congr Drayton on his release from his long and case finement in the national prison at Washing remembering those in bonds as bound with crowded audience was present, and large

were unable to gain admission to the hall, he being completely filled at a very early boar The meeting was organized by the electines The meeting was organized by the enemy drew Robeson, Esq., as President, and Wm.0 Sceretary. Mr. Robeson, after a few person marks, explanatory of the objects of Capt. In visit, and an incidental reference to his course sufferings, introduced him to the audience.

Capt. Drayton took the stand, and proceeds late his sad tale of suffering. The recital and nently calculated to touch the heart, and en leeper love of that freedom which is the right of all human beings. The narrate plain and unvarnished statement of the council schooner Pearl, the sentence of Capt Daylor Sayres, &c., who were arrested at Washington to the winter of 1848, for an attempt to aid 75

scaping from bondage,

After the conclusion of Capt, Draytoni na which produced a marked effect, the meeting was aldressed in a very able manner, by Messa Eng R. Johnson and Josiah S. Bonney; also, by L. C. Rey and David W. Ruggles. A colored gentleman, by the name of Chair Than

A colored generalism, of the mame of the range as, was introduced, who resided in Washington at the as, was introduced, who consider in transmission artis-time the arrest of Capt. Drayton occured, and was advised of the circumstances attending it. He fully corroborated the statements of Capt. I, and also gan quite a graphic description of several scenes which me under his immediate observation, connected w the affair. The following resolutions, introduced by Mr. Ern

R. Johnson, were passed unanimously:Whereas Capt. Daniel W. Drayton having been 18 leased from the American prison at Washington where he was incarcerated for faithfully exe uting to Divine injunction of doing unto others as he would wish them to do unto him; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the citizens of New Bedford welcome Capt. Drayton to our homes and hearts that we have listened to his pathetic narrative with deep interest; that we honor him for his intrepidite, and admire him for his unspotted integrity and un bounded humanity, that we truly sympatize with him in the painful and enfectled condition of his health. and rejoice with him that he has been restored to his family and friends, and we hope he may be bless ed with a long life of usefulness, and when the drama of his eventful career closes, may his tomb-stone be embellished with the emphatic inscription, 'Here liss the Martyr to Liberty.

Resolved, That this meeting return their sincers thanks to Hon. Charles Sumner, for his indefatiga-ble efforts in procuring the release of our brother, and we hope that he will continue the agitation against slavery and its concomitants, until every pretext for oppression shall be erased from our national ocutcheon.

A very liberal contribution was taken up for the benefit of Capt. Drayton, and the meeting adjourned.

## SPEECH OF CHARLES SUMNER

At the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's speech in the enate, for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Hon. John P. Hale rose and bestowed the following generous but somewhat extravagant eulogy upon it:

Mr. President, I did not intend to have said mir thing, and I shall occupy the Senate but a very minutes; but I feel that I should be doing injust to my own feelings and injustice to my friend. Senator from Massachusetts, who has addressed Senate to-day, if I were to fail at this time to Senate to-day, if I were to fail at this time torpress the very great gratification with which I law
listened to his speech; and in saying that, I do at
mean to pass by entirely the honorable Senatorion
North Carolina, for I listened to him, as I always do,
with great pleasure, but justice compels me to say that
I thought by far the best parts of the speech of the
honorable Senator from North Carolina, were tose
extracts he read from a former speech of the Sentor from Massachusetts. I listened to both Senator
with great pleasure, but I feel bound to say to-day
that it is my deliberate conviction, that the honorable that it is my deliberate conviction, that the honorsh Senator from Mass., if he was actuated by as corn and selfish motives as can be possibly attributed him, has, so far as his own personal fame and reput tion are concerned, done enough. Yas, sir, by it fort he has made here to-day, he has done to place him side by side with the first orators of a tiquity, and as far shead of any American orator freedom is ahead of slavery. I believe that he head formed to-day a new era in the history of pol the eloquence of the country, and that in luture generations the young men of this nation will be stime. In:ed to efforts by the record of what an America has this day done, which all the appends drawn find Sir, he has to-day made a draft-upon the of the friends of humanity and liberty that be paid through many generations; the mem which shall endure as long as the English lang which shall endure as long as the Eogus Languages spoken, or the history of this republic forms spirit at the annals of the world. That is what I believe, as if I had one other feeling, or could induge in so other feeling in reference to that effort, it would be a feeling of envy that it was not in me to treed end at an humble distance in the path which he has seen nobly and so eloquently illustrated.

#### WENDELL PHILLIPS AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

Among the exercises at the annual Commence of this institution, was an address before the Adelphi Society, by Wendell Phillips. A correspondent the Springfield Republican says:

\*He caused some fluttering among the staid on servatives and rigid theologians that starred the stars, and enchained his audience for an hour and stail with salient sullies, beautiful periods, and points home-thrusts upon society, institutions and indivi-tional state his leading itsenhome-thrusts upon society, institutions and uals. It would be difficult to state his leading idenlis address was rather a string of negative idea the presentation of a single affirmative one. But he mild tones and chaste and eloquent periods of Pail lips have a charm that yet lingers in the ear, says the writer, and prompts me to say that I would not have consideration. The highest gratification of the hear consideration. The highest gratification of the hear crudoubtedly lies in the enunciation, by the speaker of truths and ideas which the former has felt his soul, or which beat in response to emotions the host beautiful that the soul is the continuation of the hear of the same key as the note of the same key as the not reedom and case. THE LIBERTY PARTY. The result of the National

Liberty Convention in New York, on the 1st inth was that the party split in two. The majority uphe Gerrit Smith, who made claborate speeches in fare of voting for Hale and Julian, and the minority has ed by Mr. Goodell, seceded, and nominated for President, Wm. Goodell, and for Vice, Charles C. Fol. The majority in favor of Hale and Julian was 17-ths number at the Convention being quite small. It say agreed to make Frederick Douglasa's paper the organ of both branches of the party! The convention finally adjourned to meet at Syracuse, Oct. 1, when Jerry's rescue will be celebrated in Wheaton's new hall, which is to be named 'Jerry Hall.'

THE STATE CONVENTION. We learn that arrange of the ments have been concluded with the managers of several railroads centering in Lowell, to take part to the State Free Democratic Measures also in progress to secure trains from other points also in progress to secure trains from other points and commodate delegates generally from all parts of accommodate delegates generally from all parts of the party sill, in all probability, also be held.—Commonweaks

encosing was ad-Mesers, Erra R.

of Cha's Thou ccurred, and was ing it. He fully having been rely executing he ers as he would

of New Bedford. nes and hearts; e narrative with his intrepidity, tegrity and un apatize with him on of his health he may be bless when the drama s tomb-stone be tion, 'Here lier his indefatiga-our brother, and

gitation against very pretext for aken up for the eting adjourned UMNER. s speech in the Slave Law, the

als drawn from adequate to do.

The gratituda that will not the memory of this language is forms a part of at I believe, and ned lago in one t, it would be see to tread even hich he has so

WILLIAMS ere the Adelphi

the staid con-served the stage, our and a half, a and pointed is and individ-leading idea— tive ideas than one. But the present of Phil-ise car, axys the would not have or of the hear-by the speak-mer has felt in conotions three bigot who con-loquent devel-s, even though the notes of his ruth and much of it could be extently is of theol-refined, displays. He a the greatest

the National the 1st inst, the 1st man-ajority upheld ches in favor minority head-sted for Presirtes C. Post. n was 17—the small. It was per the organ Oct. 1, when

Theaton's new that arrange-anagers of the take passen-convention, on Measures are ther points that well, so as to all parts of the mner, Phillips, party will be use convention MAYERSARY OF THE WESTERN A. S. SOCIETY.

Sales, (Ohio,) August 30, 1852. or to the Liberator on the burning of the clay, I made a word of apology for and homely sketches, written as they the fragments of time snatched and often when fatigue and languor Your types made me say, horrid wried, perhaps a hetter word; though ronger than the case requires.

ns indeed a horrid one; and yet w ch forgotten the Henry Clay disaster, ore terrible occurred here in these A Lake Steamer, with six hundred rom deliberately, wantonly, wilfully er. A bitter animosity always exists odes of Lake unvigation, as I have and hence the frequent collisions. In ofwater; and in all probability, more than people perished. And now that terrible r much forgotten also; and the newsno boys are waiting anxiously for the atastrophe to give demand for their It is to them only, that such visitations ified for everlasting good. we held the Anniversary of the Western

y Society. It was, as usual, an occasion

st. I am glad you have attended

emeetings, for you now know what they veence of Joseph BARKER added very pleasure and profit of the meeting. Engster beware how she makes it desirable for er as he to take themselves away from her. we can be reconciled, for her incalculable unspeakable gain. OLIVER JOHNSON, too, er the mountains from Philadelphia, and ELMARETH JONES led us all captive by pathos of her appeals, particularly to And HENRY C. WRIGHT girdled us, as nd and round, with his iron linked logic. WALKER pealed upon us the full tones of ought with him from the Methodist pulpit, erated heartily to the proclamation of a While MARIUS ROBINSON, the editor of paper, sent down upon us, occasionally, from the well-charged battery of his eart, which theilled every soul, and purified here from the moral mists and miasmas that hasasterian and political pools and quagtent effect, in support of the doctrines of Some of them were Free out and out, but sterling abolitionists still. to raising of funds, I know not but they ed the most true-hearted of the Society. an, and, as I was told, a most reliable one in ngs, pledged himself to pay one half as much, into the treasury, as any disunionist He paid down twelve dollars and a half, arance to continue the same annually for m ;-and he will doubtless pay much more. at remarkable phenomenon of our anniversa-

presence and position of FREDERICK DOUG-Sometimes he spoke in a way to electrify us as lse could. It was emphatically Doug Lass as ount his senatorial stilts, and attempt to perolitician. It was then pitiful to behold him, tents he gave us were those which you and and him 'tear to tatters, to very rags,' a hundred Boston and elsewhere, when presented to him on before us. In two or three instances, poor DURNER TRUTH, the slave woman, pierced him and through with a single dart, sent with that and precision for which she is so eminently hed. I good many times, here in the West. eard a single question put an end to all strife. spirit in woman, and the inspiration of the they give hit understanding. seemed to me most remarkable in our old friend

ass was, a certain vagueness as to what his

his 'Decline and Fall,' a Liberty party man. this instance, he was more than half the time ing the Pittsburgh position. He argued the unslity and illegality of slavery, and every sulation relating slavery; but still he vinand supported the Pittsburgh nominees, neiwhom has ever held, so far as is known, any at. At any rate, I have within an hour card Mr. Ginnings doctors for himself and form, that, on the whole question of State sovthere was no difference of sentiment in any at parties. We could not really tell, at n whether Dougtass was one thing or the other. e ever felt, since he began to falter, that he ad fall to, and probably through, the Free Soil His appearance and course in our meeting furhe inventable assurance, that it will be even I am confident he was doing far more for political darry, while with us, than at any time since; and equally sure, the clear-sighted of his party think and deplore the change. He has surely not a selcomed and greeted by the party as his talents. position in the ranks of reform deserved. The the sail Gippingsus have often said, in public firste, that they would not have the master his and spirits in our moral movement abandon are they are now pursuing. Whom should mean by 'master spirits,' if not our once faithal pererful coadjutor, FREDERICK DOUGLASS 1 y communications are getting too long. You see, and will doubtless let your readers see, the reses we adopted at our anniversary meetings. We to speak in no unknown tongue. The Westis giving good account of herself. I hope here the Parent organization will find her one on faithful and virtuous of all her daughters.

Yours, and your readers, PARKER PILLSBURY.

If It was, certainly, a 'horrid,' though somewhat able blander that we made, in printing the letter red from our attentive friend Pillsbury, prior ent one; and not less so was the blunder sted in the communication of our correspond-L& (as pointed out by him in our present where 'North Carolina' and 'North Carowere substituted for 'New Church'-which h by the way, appears to have no North to it. eer errors remind us of a correction which sed in a country newspaper to this effect; sement, printed in our last, for storming powingers, read worm-destroying losenges!

LABORS IN RHODE ISLAND. SMITHVILLE SEMINARY, (R. I.) }

August 31st, 1852.

must give you a narrative of my pil-Perhaps I have already neglected it too ou I cannot believe it a matter of much con-16 I had some great stury to relate, on ac-'splendid victories' won for freedom, to could perhaps take my pen with some But the exciting days of mob, burning id great speeches, have passed away, perhaps to enjoy about 1835, to relieve the monotprosy times! If we could have the avado and 'letting off of gas' of a presidential agait would be a little better; but dullness drear agastion Profound seem to rest upon the public getting my letter much too long. platforms and Presidential nominacan't raise so much as a ripple upon the calm

surface of public indifference. Men will fight for othing now but their bottles and their purses. Remove these, and the era of universal non-resistar would dawn upon the places, at least, which I have visited here in Rhode Island. But to my narrative.

My meeting at Foxboro' was a failure, from the fact that no notice had been given, except through the Liberator. The friend to whom I wrote, Mr. Spencer Hodges, did not get the letter in season. I was, however, cordially welcomed to his home for the night, and the next day he very generously took me into his carriage, and carried me eight miles to North Attleboro', where I was welcomed by our zealous friend and co-worker, Oliver S. Brastow, and family. My meeting at this place, although the notice wa short, was very well attended. It was held in the the officiating minister, with the free consent of the posed of non-resistants of the right stamp, who repudiate the United States Constitution, as well as all ther constitutions, governments, and laws, based They are also, as a matter of course, not only opposed to slavery in sentiment and feeling, but are willing to show their faith by their works. I have never found truer sympathy than at North Attleboro', among the Second Adventists. This was the first time that I ever came in contact with this new sect, and I know not whether, as a body, they take the non-resistant ground, or not. I think not, however, because if they had, they would have attracted more attention. A collection was taken up in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of my lecture, amounting to \$3,50. The next day, Monday, as per arrangement, I proceeded to Valley Falls. Having relied upon the advertisement in the Liberator for the notification of this meeting, instead of writing to the friends in the place, and no one having minded the advertisement, no notice had been given, and, consequently, I could have no meeting as I intended, but made arrangements for one on a sub-

From Valley Fulls I went to Hope Village, (but not very hopeful for anti-slavery,) in Warwick, where I had a tolerably good meeting in point of numbers. Hope is one of the numerous cotton manufacturing villages, nestling beneath the hills and chestnut groves in the beautiful valley of the Pawtucket river. By the way, what a pity the original Indian names of places, rivers, &c., have not been retained throughout the country, as here in Rhode Island. There is a mysterious interest and poetical beauty in these names. It is true, they suggest mournful reflections; yet there is. I think, a peculiar fitness and propriety in them, and a peculiar unfitness in those borrowed from the old world. An English writer, who has travelled in this country, I think HARRIET MARTINEAU, complained of a want of taste in the Americans, in seting aside the original names, so perfectly expressive, in many instances, of the character of the place or thing designated, and substituting European appellations of places widely different, and in many instances huddling together those most remote in strange incongruity. I believe, however, that Miss MARTINEAU did not fail, like most foreigners who visit our shores, to see the monstrous incongruity of slavery in the heart of a republic!

The scenery, as you wind around the hills in the stage road following the course of the stream in the Pawtuxet Valley, is surpassingly fine; but the associations suggested to the reflecting mind, at every turn, by the sight of the gray cold, prison-like walls of the immense factories, where thousands of human beings, of both sexes, yet mostly females, from the tender ages of six years upwards, are constantly blushing meanness of Mr. Gagspeech on the occasion immured fourteen out of the twenty-four hours each detailed above. day-literally grinding in the prison-house for a bare subsistence, through a life robbed of half its years, and more of its joys-makes the heart sad, though little event which I know to have transpired in Bos nature in her loveliest aspect and sweetest smiles ton this summer. A popular and long established

scriber to the Liberator, to whom I am indebted for an agent at Mobile, for its 'careful avoidance

expense of lighting the house.

virtuous mind to wake,' and wherever you find an ab- towards us from the ' Barbary States of America.' olitionist of the right stamp, you find a universal re-

,My next meeting I purposed holding at Valley Falls, but a two days'-storm prevented. But I found the best of homes, and the most entertaining and conge- FRIEND GARRISON: So few are the signs of antinial society, in the family of our excellent friends, M1. slavery progress in the town of Duxbury, it is well and Mrs. Chase, of that place.

verity of the storm referred to on Sunday, few people plining the mind for the great work of emancipation attended the churches where my notices were read- which you have so nobly begun. consequently, few knew of the lecture, which was to have been in the Baptiat meeting-house. This being thrilling discourse as was given in our town hall, the the case, and the storm continuing, the prospect was other evening, by Miss Holley, of Rochester, N. Y. that few, if any, would come out to my lecture. In Penetrating as the fire of truth, gentle and touching this dilemma, Rev. Hosea Quimby, Principal of the as the appeals of Jesus, filled with the love of freedom Smithville Seminary, a flourishing institution, situated and humanity, no one can listen to her without being a short distance from the village, proposed that I made better. Could the poor, down-trodden captives should speak in the Seminary Hall to the students, in the South land come within hearing of this sincere who could attend without going out of doors. Of voice, they would feel all the force of that quickening course, I gladly accepted the invitation; and at the expression of Patrick Henry, - Give me liberty, or hour of meeting, about a hundred students, and a few of the villagers, assembled in the hall, and listened apparently not without interest for upwards of two as originally presented by Jefferson, down to the adoption of the late Baltimore platforms. I presume this any doubts in regard to its authenticity.

than one per cent. on a dollar in the end. But I am sun of liberty, equality, and fraternity! Yes, there is getting my letter much too long.

Yours for humanity,

ALONZO J. GROVER. | land,—

MUZZLERS OF THE PRESS.

On the evening of May 26th, 1852, I attended meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, at the Melodeon, in Boston. Theodore Parker made an elaborate address before a respectable audience on that occasion, and in it he adduced a striking proof from his own personal experience of the unholy league now existing between Mammon, the flinty hearted god of Northern traders, and Moloch, the bloody-handed god of Southern tyrants. I will try to give the substance of Mr. Parker's anecdote.

He said that but a few months before, he called on ar eminent publishing firm in Boston, who had in year past issued severa! of his works, to consult with then about undertaking the publication of another work Second Advent meeting house, on Sunday afternoon, which he had then nearly ready for the press. He was waited on by a member of the firm, when the follow Committee, generously giving way to my lecture.

This particular Church of Second Adventists is comfor clearness' sake, and also furnish the unknown pul for clearness' sake, and also furnish the unknown pub lisher with a suitable cognomen) :-

Mr. Parker.- I am preparing a collection of sermo and addresses for the press, and desire to know if you upon the sword. This is a part of their creed. will publish them on terms similar to our forme dealings ?

Mr. Gagspeech .- Do you intend to have any of you

Anti-Slavery discourses in them? Mr. Parker .- Most certainly. I do not expect t reach very far into posterity, but as far as I do go, I desire to go holding my Anti-Slavery discourses in my right hand.

Mr. Gagspeech .- Then we cannot publish you volumes. Our business connections with the South are such that it would seriously injure our trade in that section to be the mere medium through which any Anti-Slavery doctrines came before the public.

Mr. Parker .- The reason of your refusal is a strong emonstration of the necessity that Anti-Slavery doctrines should come before the public. When wealthy booksellers refuse to place their names or an humble minister's title page-though he bears all the cost of publishing and runs all the risk of selling -hecause the atmosphere of his free ideas will drive off customers for their other works, then indeed ha the 'despotism in America' gained a fearful pre ponderance.

Thereupon Mr. Parker bade Mr. Gagspeech goodbye, and left to hunt up some publisher whose soul enjoyed a broader range than the rim of a dollar And he found one, too, there being a Lot in every

Mr. Parker was asked by Samuel May, Jr., to men tion the true name of the time-serving publisher for whom I have had to supply a soubriquet. After hesitating several moments, Mr. Parker declined doing this, averring that he believed it best always to err on the side of charity, and that the man was actuated more by weakness than wickedness in his ungenerous conduct.

I regretted that we could not have been informe from Mr. Parker's lips who this self-appointed censor of the press was; though the feeling which i duced the speaker to withhold his name was highly honorable and noble. Any man who is so corrupted to the core with the filthy lucre of which he has more than enough, that in the sacred work of providing a nation's literature he will pander to oppression, deserves to be marked on the back plainly and deeply as one of his own quartos!

In the above account, I do not profess to quote the exact language used by either of the parties in this curious dialogue, except as regards Mr. Parker's second remark to Mr. Gagspeech : that is printed on my memory along with ever so many more of his eloquent sentences. But my brief sketch will impart a generally correct idea of the voluntary and un-

In this connection, it may be apposite to relate greets the eye at every step.

At Hope, I found Mr. Danie! Gould, an old sub-South, was written to in terms of commendation by entertainment and liberal assistance. The collection sectional questions' (meaning its tame cringing to the Slave Power, for liberty alone is 'sectional' in this At Birch Hill, I had a small meeting in a Baptist country); and a lure to further flunkeyism was held meeting-house, and received fifty cents for my servi- out in the promise that 'if a like moderate and patrices, the committee generously giving the trouble and otic (!) course was pursued in future, an increased circulation' of the Kidnappers' Bloody Flag would be At this place, I also found one friend to our the result in Alabama. Here we see the programme cause, Mr. William Tanner, formerly a subscriber of cowardice directly supplied and enforced by th to the Liberator, and brother to Abel Tanner, who at boasted 'chivalry' of the nation; and we see it one time, I believe, was engaged as lecturing agent, adopted and lived out in aggravated forms by creawho welcomed me to the hospitalities of his home; tures who dare to celebrate the 17th of June and the and a home he has, though humble, such as is seldom 4th of July! A trifling straw like this shows how en in this selfish world. Anti-slavery 'serves the incessant and baneful is the sirocco ever blowing

## MISS HOLLEY IN DUXBURY.

DUXBURY, Sept. 1, 1852.

and Mrs. Chase, of that place.

I next visited North Scituate; but, owing to the seagement of the few who are seeking truth, and disci-

hours. I endeavored to show the relation of the North to the cause. All seemed to feel it a privilege to give to slavery, giving as full an account as I could, in the something. One friend, who has been a member of time, of the action of the Federal Government in its the Methodist church, renewed his subscription for behalf, from the striking out of the clause depreca- the Liberator, and expressed to me his want of confitory of slavery in the Declaration of Independence, dence in the Wesleyan church as a means of abolish-

was a chapter in American history not found in the that venerable man whose presence was always felt text books of the institution, and probably not the at our anti-slavery gatherings in years gone by-Seth most familiar to my audience; but no one expressed Sprague. O, had he lived, would he not have urged on the Wesleyan church to nobler deeds and pur-This institution is under the control of Prof. Quim-by, who is a reformer, an excellent man, and a distin-cause fired and thrilled by the genius of freedom, he guished teacher. I consider this a rare school, and was progressive; and whoever lets love do its perwould recommend it to those who do not care to feet work, will find his life glowing with perpetual send their children to schools under the control of youth. Now that church is closed against the voice pro-slavery and sectarian influences. Mirabile dicts! of mercy; its form towers gloomily, a sad monument my lecture was favored by the Orthodox minister of of the folly and pride which build costly houses, and the place, who took the trouble to call on me previous decorate them for senseless forms and ceremonies,to the meeting, and was not ashamed to distribute sev- while humanity lies bleeding beneath their portals eral of my handbills on his way home. Last winter, Every church in Duxbury is closed against the reformer he invited me to lecture in his pulpit on Sunday, in The Universalists, professedly the most liberal, who the day time ! This may seem almost fabulous to anti- have labored hard to save souls in this life-sure they slavery lecturers, yet it is true. I expect the expla- would be in the next-refused to open their church nation is, that Mr. Hall is an Englishman by birth for Charles C. Burleigh to plead the cause of the and education, and has been in this country only about slave. Prominent among this cluster of churches seven years. I think, however, he is made of too stands the Unitarian. Few churches in a country vilstern metal to ever become Americanized. He told lage are more conservative and aristocratic than this me that he has never taken the pains to get Ameri- Many hundred dollars have been taken from the canized, (naturalized,) from the fact that he should young and unsuspecting at Fairs, and by grab-boxes, scorn to exercise the rights of citizenship under the (a species of gambling,) to buy a costly organ. Its present Constitution. It is almost too much to ad. doors are closed against us, of course; still a few remit of human nature, that any man will buy the pri- main true. I am not discouraged, though there are vilege of being a wrong-door. It is had enough to moments when the prospect looks dreary. This is an serve the devil gratis, or "on trust," as Daniel Web-infidelity which is, thank Heaven, of short duration, ster chooses to, and be obliged to take ten mills less and then breaks forth in refulgent beams the gloriou

'Take heart! — the waster builds again— A charmed life old Goodness hath; The tares may perish, but the grain Is not for death.'

Beautiful thought! It cheers me on. The word spoken with sincerity is ever-living. It will do its

Friend Garrison, what a glorious cause is this! My heart warms to you when I look back to the time when you started the Liberator, in the face of a world of opposition; and how amidst violence, spite and alander, you have maintained the principle, that all nankind are brethren-your motto, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind '-is hard to be understood by a mercenary and oppressive nation. We have the understanding, but not the earnest endeavor to do justice to all the world. We walk forth in the sunlight of this refulgent summer, and bathe in the cool night as in a river, talk loud and long about Divine love and glorious liberty, and pharisaical tribune. The vocabulary of epithets freight this bark of freedom with the bodies and souls of three and a half millions of human beings, with all the attributes of the divinity stamped upon them, and use them up as our avarice or convenience demands. If this is Christianity, the less we have of it, the bet-

ter. The oppressors of man are welcome to what consolation they may derive from it. You and all the real lovers of freedom and goodness in the world, will go athwart its desolating track. May you have strength of body, as you have strength of soul, to endure unto ery slave who has thought how good freedom must be, may we all have strength to work. Angel of patience, be with us! Work on, work ever. Hope, too, for the inevitable decree of the universe is, IT SHALL BE ACCOMPLISHED!

'On then, my brothers! every blow Ye deal is felt the wide earth through; Whatever here uplifts the low, = Or humbles Freedom's hateful foe, Blesses the old world through the new. Yours for the slave,

THE NEW CHURCH AND SLAVERY. MR. Epiron: I perceive, that in publishing my ar

ticle with the above heading, in your paper of the 20th of Aug., in the last paragraph before the postscript, you have made a mistake and repeated it, which totally destroys the meaning which Prof. Bush intended to convey. He was speaking that he should be under the necessity of discontinuing the New Church Repository at the close of the year, in consequence of New Church people being opposed to the controversial character of this work. He said, 'we an never satisfy the N. C. public to such an extent as to make it an object,' &c. Now, instead of N. C., which means New Church, you have made him say 'North Carolina.' Further along, instead of N. C., which means New Church, you have printed it . North Carolinians,' to the utter perversion of the true readng. Mr. Rodman's sermon, mentioned in the first paragraph, was delivered April, 1851, instead of 1852, as you have it.

In the July and August number of the Repository. Prof. Bush continues the controversy with a decided spirit. The following is one paragraph from the July

In the Repository for August, I find nearly six columns which Prof. Bush devotes to the slavery ques-

regarded as a nullity. What, then, is the demand of the Divine law, but the cordial and unreserved giving up of the principle which constitutes the gravamen of the offence as viewed in the light of eternal truth and justice? In virtue of this fictiious claim and fancied right, men, women and children are bought and sold like any other marketable commodities, and various wrongs inflicted, which would not be, but for the asserted but buseless claim of property. Now, inasmuch as the sincere mental renunciation of this alleged right of ownership lays the axe directly at the root of the evil, and forbids all traffic in these human chattels, who can fail to perceive that emancipation has fairly won the day when this point of concession has been reached? Is it possible that this can be denied, without the denial of the truth of the whole train of our foregoing argument? And to the most earnest abolitionist we would put the question, whether his demand is not virtually complied with when the nature of the relation is entirely changed, and the abhored traffic in human flesh has come to an end?

On the cover of the August number of the Repository, Professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the content of the relation is a content of the relation is entirely changed, and the abhored traffic in human flesh has come to an end?

Dearn of the Professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush again states the prospect of relinging the professor Bush aga regarded as a nullity. What, then, is the demand of the Divine law, but the cordial and unreserved giving up of the principle which constitutes the gracemen of the offence as viewed in the light of eternal truth and

On the cover of the August number of the Repository, Professor Bush again states the prospect of relinquishing its publication at the close of the year. A new weekly New Church paper, called 'The Age,' has just been started in New York, which will take off some subscribers from the Repository. Besides, the great body of the New Church people are manifestly pro-statery, if we may judge by their works and publications. It seems highly necessary that such a valuable work, and such an efficient aid to the holy cause of emancipation of Southern slaves from their unjust and cruel bondage, should be sustained. Nothing is to be expected from the 'New Jerusalem Magazine,' published in Boston, to aid the cause, as it appears to be under the control of the most direful conservative hunkerism. It is said to be conducted by Webster Whigs, and in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law. Nothing appears in it to offend the rankest and most cruel slaveholder. I am sorry it is so, but so it is. I hope the friends of the slave will come to the rescue, and not let the Repository go down, for then there will be no New Church publication to battle for the rights of the colored man, unless a new work tory, Professor Bush again states the prospect of relin-

sion-Is it to be frowned upon in the New Church?"

DRAM SIR: The opening of the subject of slavery for a candid and dispassionate consideration, in the pages of your periodical, was one, to me, of great interest. Still, in common with yourself and readers, generally, I had much doubt as to the manner in which it would be received by your friends in the South-But though I anticipated a rather cold reception of the subject, on the ground of expediency, I was not prepared for so strong an expression of almost unqualified disapprobation, and an absolute closing of the lips to all and everything that may be salvanced upon the subject, as appears to be aimed at in the communications published in your June number.—What can be calculated to fill the mind with more econcern than this? There is a corpse in our midst, which shall remain there; its odor is exceedingly offensive to our neighbors, yet it shall neither be removed nor investigated, nor its character or uses discussed. Truly this is a fearful thing, and sad and sorrowful are the reflections, which the reading of the several letters, so antagonistic to a freedom of event the most contained to the content of the secident of the sufferings of these were beyond description; some were found prostrate on the floor, with the skin literally clothed the subject, excite, that the Christian expression upon the subject, excite, that the

conclusion comes irresistibly, that not only is there physical but spiritual slavery; a slavery of the soul as well as the body.

'Is slavery an evil? It is affirmed that it is, it is even admitted that it is,—and with the standing and prominent doctrine of the church before him, that all crits should be shunned as sins against God, this is claimed as an exception!'

This is but a small part of the letter, signed F., who says he writes from a slaveholding State, where h

#### expects to spend his life. THE CAUSE OF THE SLAVE.

PEPPERELL, Aug. 28th, 1852.

Who will speak in vindication of the slave, an who will act in his behalf? That responsibility does not rest upon the multitude; on the contrary upon those who possess manly courage—that cour age which is undaunted when tried before a prou exhausted; the volleys of sneers and ridicule have but little effect upon this God-approving mission love to God and man.

A glorious work is progressing under the super vision of those who have cast overboard party names and buried where the hand of resurrection will nev er reach, church canons of hypocrisy. They have cast off the dark veil which overspreads the so-called Christian world. They have entered single-handed in vindication of that down-trodden race, and are determined that opposition shall not check their pronight come only to strike a chill into the heart of evpresses against them. Duty to their fellow-me nerves their arms, and encourages their hearts.

To see three millions of human beings, who are a good by nature as ourselves, enslaved; bought and sold into merciless servitude-made as mere chattelsand ranked with the brutes, in a land boasting of freedom, of religion and equal rights-it is enough- to call forth sympathy and aid for those who are compelied to become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' even worse than that-to be loaded down with heavy chains, and driven about from one plantation to another. Yes, they are often cooped up in filthy pens, to await the arrival of some Southern planter to take them away into hopeless bondage, thus separating father, mother, brother and sister, forever. And this violation of human rights is openly practised at the very seat of government, and beneath the stars and stripes that float above the Capitol! Glorious freedom! Such freedom deserves the malediction of the Almighty.

A short time since, I had the pleasure of listening to an address in the village of P. by one of the greatest advocates of emancipation; but I could not deteet any tendency towards 'infidelity,' or a disregard for the Sabbath, respecting which so many have falsely accused him. What I listened to satisfied me that his fabric had its foundation upon the truth -a foundation, against which all the efforts of this Gentile community will prove fruitless.

· Love God with all thy soul, strength and might and thy neighbor as thyself.' And who is my neighbor? All mankind. Then is it out of place to praise God, and pray for our fellow-men, black or white, on the Sabbath? If not, could there be an reasonable motive in refusing those who sympathize with the oppressed the use of this or that pulpit? Boasting of 'liberal Christianity,' but still unwilling number:

'We have reached, then, if we mistake not, by a fair process, the conclusion, that there is an immediate duty in the premises incumbent on the slaveholder; one, too, which involves the very essence of emancipation, and that without violating any of the established laws of divine order, when those laws are rightly apprehended. It is a duty directly imperative upon the individual, irrespective of any-human ennetments legitimating the asserted, but unfounded, claim of property; for no carthly statute is authorized to contravene an eternal dictate of Heaven, nor may any legislature presume to invade the province of private conscience, and interpose a veto to any decision of the will of God. All such enactments are, of course, null and void, in fore conscientie, as in fact is every ordinance of man which conflicts with the higher law of the divine order.'

Boasting of 'liberal Christianity, but still unwilling to aid them in their endeavors, over even to contribute the poor widow's small pittance. Is that in imitation of the Golden Rule? Is it in derogation of the right to admit a man to this or that pulpit, because he does not believe precisely as I do? Can there be any other possible motive than downright prejudice, in thus denying the 'sanctanry' to those who have enlisted in a good cause? Was it making brighter the flame of brotherly love? On the contrary, it was totally extinguishing that spark of kindness, on account of a mere difference of opinion. Such proceedings will not be lost in oblivion; but at the great day of accounts, all men will behold a higher tribunal, and then they will receive their reward, according to the deeds done in the body, from an omniscient God. to aid them in their endeavors, or even to contribute the deeds done in the body, from an omniscient God. TRUTH

if any course of conduct is justly denominated evil, and as such comes within the range of the prohibitory precepts of Heaven, what more obvious than that the very first duty of the delinquent is to forbear the actual doing of the wrong in question? In the case before us, the essence of the wrong-doing is not in the oppression or cruelty which may chance to be exercised toward the slave, for oppression and cruelty are exercised where slavery does not exist, but in the assertion of a c'ain which gives one man the absolute and unlimited control over the person, powers and possessions of another, without his consent. This a valid right, while, in the eye of the Divine law, it is regarded as a nullity. What, then, is the demand of the Divine law, but the cordial and powers.—Pennsylvania Freeman.

should start into existence.

Yours, &c.,

I. S.

P. S.—To fill out this page of letter-paper, I quote the following from the Repository for August, which I extract from an able article, headed 'Free Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion—Is it to be fromed upon in the Year Discussion.

STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION ON THE HUDSON

The Storm South. The Mobile Tribune cars, that allowing \$100,000 for the loss of wherves by the late storms, \$500,000 will be more than sufficient to cover the whole damage in that city.

In Augusta, Ga., it is estimated that \$50,000 will repair all damages there.

Sixteen lives were lost by the terrible earthquake which occurred at Santiago on the 20th August. The inhabitants, generally, found refuge on board the shipping. The loss of property was estimated at 1,500,000 dellars.

MADAME SONTAG, the world-renowned vocalist, arrived at New York, on last Sunday night, in the Arctic. A large crowd received her at the wharf, and she rode to the hotel in a carriage presented to her

To An advertisement appears in the English papers, announcing the re-publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in London, in six numbers, of a panny a num-

FATAL ACCIDENT. On Tuesday, about 11 o'clock, FATAL ACCIDENT. On Tuesday, about 11 o clock, Mr. Jonathan Cash, an aged and much respected colored citizen of Boston, while trimming a grape vine in the rear of his house, No. 103 Chambers street, fell head foremost on the pavement, and was instantly killed. He was once a siave. He leaves a wife and one child. Three other fatal accidents occurred from failing from buildings, in the city, on the same day.

Bloody Affair. On Saturday evening last, a man named James Mahoney, who lives in Mason Street, Charlestown, while in a fit of delirium tremens, leaped out of bed, and seizing a sharp pruning-knife, rushed into the street, and stabbed some half a dozen persons, in one or two instances it is feared fatally, before he could be secured.

#### TO THE PRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

TO THE PRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

After an imprisonment of more than four years, in the city of Washington, for a deed in the highest degree creditable to his humanity, though punished as a felony by the government, Capt. Daniel Diaarton, with his companion Edward Sarkes, has been pardoned by the President of the United States, (mainly through the instrumentality of Hon. Charles Sumner,) and is once more at liberty, but with his health very seriously impaired, so as to unfit him to engage, at present, in any business for a livelihood.

As he has a large family dependent on him for support, his case is one deserving of special sympathy and aid on the part of the friends of impartial liberty, in whose cause he has been so great a sufferer.

whose cause he has been so great a sufferer.

The undersigned, therefore, the committee who had the mahagement of the case in the courts at Washington, while the trial was pending, respectfully solicit such contributions in behalf of Capt. Drayton and his family as any may be disposed to make, pledging themselves to see the money faithfully applied and duly acknowledged. Donations may be sent either to Francis Jackson or Robert Morris, 27 State street.

S. E. SEWALL, J. P. BLANCHARD, FRANCIS JACKSON. ELIZUR WRIGHT, ROBERT MORRIS, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, JOHN W. BROWNE, RICHARD HILDRETH.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. A Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society will be held at Lawrence, on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment. Meetings to commence at 7 o'clock, Saturday evening. Let there be a full attendance of the friends

Names of speakers will be given hereafter. JOSEPH MERRILL. Rec. See.

BURRILLVILLE, R. I.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the Old Meeting-house in Burrillville, on Sanday, Sept. 12, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be attended by Stephen S. Foster and Abby K. Foster.

Mr. and Mrs. Foster will also speak in the Baptist meeting-house at Pascoag village, on Saturday evening, Sept. 11.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: Barnstable, Sat. eve'g, Sunday, Hyannis,

MARLBORO', (Middlesex Co.) STEPHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY K. FOSTER, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in Marlboro' Town Hall, on Saturday evening, Sept. 19. Alsomorom Sanday evening, Sept. 19, at usual hours morning and afternoon, at FELTONVILLE.

LEOMINSTER, (Worcester Co.) DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will give his course of Four Lectures at Leominster, commencing on Sunday next, Septem-

CONCERT.

TF The Excelsior Glee Club respectfully inform their friends and the public, that they will give their first Concert at the Belknap Street Church, on Tuesday evening next, Sept. 14. commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Tickets 12 1-2 cents, to be had of the

Notice. Will Miss Holley inform S. M., Jr., where

MARRIED—In Andover, Sept. 5, by George Foster, Esq., Mr. James B. Smith to Miss Mary Ann Lindsey, all of A. Sept. 6, by Rev. W. B. Brown, Mr. Jabez L. Burrill, of Oberlin, Ohio, to Miss Lydia Cal-

DIED-In this city, 7th instant, Miss Ann Ray, aged 82 years and 6 months,

LEWIS HAYDEN, FASHIONABLE

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to \$10 per week. Preatment without board, from \$2 to \$4 per week. Each patient should furnish one linen and two heavy cotton sheets; two woollen blankets; one comfortable, and old linen for bandages.

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1 y may 7 S. ROGERS, M. D.

#### For the Liberator. LITTLE EVA. BY W. MILNE .

Sweet as a flowret fair of spring, The lovely little Eva grew, And blithe as woodlark on the wing, The loves and graces round her drew.

The fragrant, balmy-laden breeze, That soitly fans the sunny South, Through clustering groves of orange trees, Blew gently on her tender youth.

And still more beautiful she grew, And bright, but delicate, as fair : In her deep eyes of heavenly blue, An angel's look of love was there.

A winning warmth of holy love Beamed in the sweetness of her smile, As if a scraph from above Had stooped to visit earth awhile.

And as she lingered here below, Her sister scraphs seemed to say, Dear Eva, leave this world of wo Sweet sister angel, come away !' Her mission was a glorious one.

To nature true in all its parts: On God's inimitable plan, To sooth and soften human hearts To woo away from scenes of sin, To point men upward to the skies, To love and truth their hearts to win,

And help them from the dust to rise. The little messenger of love, Her heavenly mission well fulfilled, Rejoicing, soars to bliss above;

Even so her heavenly Father willed. But many a stern eye shall yet Be dimmed and wet with honest tears, And softened hearts shall quicker beat Where Eva's thrilling tale appears.

On mother earth's maternal breast, Beneath the verdant, flowery sod, Her fragile form is laid to rest, Her spotless spirit, lives with God.

#### From the New York Reformer THE AMERICAN DRACO.

I saw a bloody ebon throne, Upresred in Mammon's sterile plains, Oppression laid the corner-stone, And wrought his iron law in chains : The crimsoned drapery hung around, A product of th' infernal loom That tore a million shrinking hearts, And, from the tender strings they formed, Wove round their souls, a rayless doom.

I looked, and heard the shackles clank Upon the slave's abraded limb, And earth the crimson current drank. While Hope's fair star grew pale and dim; Chains that corroded grew with tears. Borne through the circle of his years, Were duller for the rust they bore, As oft he wept and turned them o'er.

The tyrant spake, and round his seat The millions stooped with trembling fears, While ever pressing at his feet, They bathed them with unnumbered tears; He spake, and words of giant sin Were borne upon the horrent blast, That burned with ire as on it passed, And sought a holier clime to win.

He sat, and with sardonic leer Claimed tribute. E'en at freemen's hands He sought to blight their uncursed lands, And leave them like his empire drear. While millions of a darker tan Woke up at dawn to meet the sun, The shaded brotherhood of man, Whose hue a darker doom had won And ere the day had closed, the ties

Of countless hearts were snapped in twain, And from the wide, far-spreading plain There woke a million startling cries; The father, parted from his son, Said, ' Let me die-my race is run!' While mothers, in their bondage there, Wailed with a mother's long despair. In the broad light of day he sold

Fair women for a chosen price,

And laughed at sin's refined device To measure Virtue out for Gold! Beneath the sun's unclouded light. They kept the cursed mart's confines, Where Freedom's temples stand in sight, And knowledge with her glory shines : Where freemen to their Mecca tend. Where Truth and Love their spirit send-Where lie in Death's sublime repose The ashes of THE GREAT, THE GOOD, Whose life was deeds, that at its close In bright array immortal stood-Where kneel the pure at holy time, And Sabbath bells peal out their chime.

Oh, Thou Eternal One! whose eve Pervades all depths, surveys all spheres, Behold thy shadowed image lie Oppressed with bonds and hopeless years. In the deep counsels of thy will. In the vast fullness of thy law, Speak, and the earth with bliss shall fill. Like that creation's morning saw; Send down thy fire, and iron chains Shall holy love transmute to gold, And o'er the barren, bloody plains, Shall Freedom's triumph car be rolled; And Light shall reach the darkest mind, Resolving Hope in Night's abyes,

While Slory infinite shall find Earth ripening in autumnal bliss !

TRIFLES.

A cloud may intercept the sun, A web, by insect workers spun, Preserve the life within the frame, Or vapore toke away the same. A grain of sand upon the sight May rob a giant of his might! Or needle point let out the breath,

And make a banquet-meal for Death. How often, at a single word, The heart with agony is stirred, And ties that years could not have riven, Are scattered to the winds of heaven; A glance, that looks what aips would speak Will speed the pulse, and blanch the check; And thoughts, nor looked, nor yet expressed, Create a chaos in the breast.

A smile of hope from those we love May be an angel from above; A whispered welcome in our ears Be as the music of the spheres; The pressure of a gentle hand Worth all that glitters in the land ; Oh! trifles are not what they are, But fortune's ruling voice and star.

THE BIBLE QUESTION.

MR. GARRISON : ESTREMED FRIEND-We ask the privilege of occu and the second, May 14th. In his first communica-Law as coming from the Bible.

the Bible say? All know, that the principal arguments against this wicked law are taken from the Bible. Where is the higher law to be found, which is Suppose we had no Bible, where would we find the devised, better calculated to impress the minds of the commonality of mankind of the wickedness of this law, than that which is recorded in the Bible?

Bible, in any place, as that if an evil law is decreed by the civil powers, that sanctifies and justifies the doing

Those who have been truly believers in the Bible, and obedient to its requisitions, have in all ages considered it an all-important doctrine, if man's law comes in competition with God's, to obey God rather than man, let man be clothed with authority of whatever name. That this was their practice as well as their theory, let the engines of death bear testimony. The gallows, the gibbet, the stake, the rack or Doctors Dewey and Barker to the contrary notwithor writings, are not scripture. We are to judge their been too wise to be taught by their Maker. productions by the scriptures, not the scriptures by Joseph throws light on what is denominated n most appalling penalty to its observance : 'For I was stealers, in scripture estimation. an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; sick and in prison, and ye of slavery I cannot doubt, -- says, 'I am not about to

ions, and reasonings, and prospects, and plans of opera- priest.' You say, 'the prevailing nations respecting is at the present time, and perhaps a little better. We would do much to invalidate its claim to Divine author his vocabulary, a 'sectarian priest,') a member of a dently desire you to produce those pro-slavery passet

bases of all positions, a 'sectarian priest.' May we slaves in subjection. It is related, that he at one time when he is old, he will not depart from it.'

atartling discovery; he anticipates an objection that tellectual qualifications. Abraham was without will be raised against the necessity of abeliahing the means to keep such a family of slaves in subjection Bible, in order to obtain the abolition of slavery. The There is not one of B's slavery tests which would ap-

The Liberator, objection is, that 'slavery was abolished in the British West India islands, without assailing the doctrine of the Divine authority of the scriptures.' He save-The bearing of the scriptures on the slavery questio was not so well understood then. It had never bee discovered till since West India emancipation, that pying a space in your columns, for the purpose of the scriptures did justify slavery. Previous to that making some remarks on two communications, purporting to be from the pen of Joseph Barker; the and was employed as an instrument for its destrucfirst of which appeared in the Liberator, April 23d, tion.' Is it not a deplorable calamity, that ever it pro-slavery character had been discovered! This tion, he declares his determination to devote his discovery, we suppose, will be placed to the credit of special labors, as long as he lives, to the overthrow of some pro-slavery, pro-Bible, and anti-Bible American the opinion of the Divine authority of the scriptures, divines. (Uncle Sam's boys are cute fellows, Mr. B. representing them as having the most contaminating influence, both Old and New Testaments, and that the world cannot be, reformed without previously very character of the Bible. What strange allience overthrowing the doctrine of the Divine authority of are sometimes formed !) From what Mr. B. says, the the Jewish and Christian scriptures. He represents Bible only is reponsible for the continuance of slavethe scriptures as sanctioning all kinds of oppression, as ry, for some period subsequent to West India eman the chief support of dome-tic slavery. He represents cipation. He has not told us the particular date, but the principal arguments to support the Fugitive Slave it had not been discovered that it sanctions slavery un'il after that occurrence. It must have been inf Joseph Barker would have his readers believe, that delity that 'propped up slavery' previous to that periall who believe the Bible to be the word of God, be- od; and it was gross practical infidelity to hold on to lieve they should obey the Fugitive Slave Law. He slavery when they regarded the Bible as opposed to slavery says, 'the Bible enjoins us to obey the laws of the very. B's path is grievously beset with labyrinths !! land, the commands of the government under which Any person who can discover that Jesus Christ or his we live, and by a zig zag, sophistical manner of rea- Apostles favor slaveholding, or the Fugitive Slave soning, he labors to impress his readers with a be- Law, either by precept or example, must be given up lief that the scriptures enjoin this without limitation, to strong delusion. What! the meek and lowly that is, they are to obey all laws decreed by the gov- Jesus taxed with sanctioning slaveholding!! He who ernment under which they live, be they right or came into the world 'to preach deliverance to the wrong. Neither the latter nor the former of these obcame to 'minister, and not to be ministered unto,' and It is manifestly a misrepresentation to say, that all gave himself as an example to follow his steps; who believers in the Bible are in favor of the Fugitive forbids his followers to assume any thing like lordly Slave Law. Joshua R. Giddings is a Bible man-is authority, but if they wished to be great, let them be he its advocate? The Fugitive Slave Law so palpably the servents. Because Christ and his Apostles did violates the precepts of both the Old and New Testa- not expressly condemn slavery in as many words, therements, that we question much whether there is one fore they were in favor of it! Most profound logic, well informed, disinterested believer in the Bible, who thinks it is right to obey it. It is a waste of time to argue what Bible men do. The question is, what does the Bible men do. The question is, what does condemn its constituent parts. The principles of liberty contained in the Constitution of the United appealed to as the final arbiter, but in the Bible? States, if carried out, would forever exclude slavery, although it does not mention slavery. We will refer higher law? Is there any other method that could be J. B. to Mr. Garrison's writings for scripture denun-

There is no such folly and wickedness taught in the made on the nefarious teachings of the Bible. It is discovered that the conduct of Joseph, related in Exodus, in impoverishing the people of Egypt, and converting them all into slaves, is given by the scriptures as an evidence of superior wisdom, and as a proo of supernatural illumination. This discovery, we think, must be placed to the credit of J. B. Unhappily for his credit, the discovery is like Paddy's fleawhen you put your finger on it, it is not there. An invention may be placed to his credit, but not a dis covery. There is not one word of approval, either expressed or implied, of the conduct of Joseph, in conthe cross, had no power to deter them from their with grain from Pharaoh's store-houses, - Gen. 47: tracting with the Egyptians, when supplying them purpose of obeying God rather than man. This is 15-20,-but directly the contrary. There was a parcontrovertible testimony, and settles the matter, ticular statute enacted in the law of Moses, subse quent to this contract of Joseph's, forbidding such standing. Did Paul, the author of this cojectionable conduct as he was guilty of-Lev. 25: 35-37. Pharaportion of scripture, tell them to do what was wrong, oh speaks of Joseph as being discreet and wise, with in subjection to the civil powers? He tells them to be reference to the wise, discreet, and laudable plan he afraid of the civil powers if they did evil, but do that had laid, for protecting the kingdom from the direful which is good, and they should have praise of the ravages of impending famine, and says, with reference same. Romans 13. This was the kind of obedience to the interpretation of his dream, that God had showthey were to give to the civil powers-do good, and ed it unto him,-Gen. 41: 38, 39-but not one refrain from evil. Paul's example is a commentary on word said in approval of his conduct, respecting his his meaning; actions speak louder than words. From contracting with the Egyptians. And if Pharaoh had the time he first became a Christian to the day of his approved of it, it makes no difference; he was a heamartyrdom, he set an example-not to do wrong then king, and not an inspired person, appointed to in obedience to the civil powers. He was frequently reveal God's will. Joseph was not perfect, yet he was imprisoned and maltreated by them, and ultimately a wise, good, virtuous and amiable man, in all his visuffered martyrdom at their hands, in confirmation of the doctrine of obeying God rather than man. A few acting honestly, when he contracted that Pharaoh pro-slavery divines, who wish to pander to a cor- should receive the fifth part of the product. A pretty rupt public sentiment, in order to gain popularity and favorable bargain for slaves. They were not slaves, ction from those in high places, for their patri- Mr. B. It was no personal advantage to Joseph otism, have represented it as a scriptural duty to obey whatever; his kindred and posterity would be govthe Fugitive Slave Law, because it has been decreed erned by the same regulation. The Egyptians were by the 'powers that be,' without questioning its cha- culpably improvident in not reserving food for themracter, whether it is good or evil, and have spoken, selves against the days of famine in the seven plenteand written, and preached, in behalf of this doctrine. ous years. No doubt, infidelity in God's threatenings What matters it what the Gannets, or Deweys, or was the cause of their negligence. There has been a Stuarts and Springs say? their sayings, or preachings, class of wise-acres, in all ages of the world, who have

These are stealing in Bible estimation. He says, (Gen. 40: 15.) pseudo-Bible men, who have slandered the Bible, and Indeed, I was stolen away out of the land of the must take their stand with anti-Bible men. Jesus Hebrews,' Now we know that the Ishmaelites bought Christ and his Apostles represented as sanctioning the him from his brethren, Gen. 37: 28. Thus we see Fugitive Slave Law !!! Christ most emphatically Joseph informs us that man-sellers and man-buyers, condemned the Fugitive Slave Law, and annexed the for the purpose of holding them as slaves, are man-

J. B. says, 'That portions of the Bible are in favor visited me not. Depart from me, ye cursed, &c. &c. quote passages to prove all this: If I were a slave-And Paul, in his own person, set an example, that it holder, or a slaveholder's priest, I would feel no fear was right to escape from oppression, II. Cor. 11: whatever of proving that slavery is a scriptural institution.' B. takes a shorter way in proving that slaver It is obvious that Joseph Barker views the scrip- is a Bible institution, than quoting passages. He tures through a perverted medium. Their contami- begs the question, and goes on to give the most odious nating effects are chimeras of his own imagination; characteristics of slavery, and argues stoutly against and if he would ever succeed in convincing men that them, as though they were supported by the Bible. they are sheer fabrications, it would work no reforma- He says to slaveholders, 'It is in vain to tell us what tion upon them. This was tested by the French Jewish or Christian books say about slavery; they are revolutionists, who acted like demons. But we will no authorities with us. Well may you have recourse make Joseph Barker himself the example. We have to documents in Greek and Hebrew, in Syriac and the outlines of his character detailed by himself, in his Chaldre, for the light and the virtue of the present letter to a friend, which we have at present under re- age are all against you. Now, this is not honest, Mr. view. It embraces the essential features of the moral B., to take it for granted that you have proved that and intellectual man, both in his state of belief and the scriptures justify these odious features of slavery, unbelief, in the inspiration of the Bible. He has been which you have named, when you have not even at specially particular in speaking of himself; he has tempted to prove it, and which you nor any other used the personal pronoun in reference to himself up- man can prove, for it condemns every characteristic of wards of one hundred and eighty times, if we are cor- slavary which you have mentioned. Now, Mr. B., rect, in a little more than two columns of large print. come up with your proof, give us those passages of Every thing relating to some individuals, who are scripture which justify slaveholding. There are far great benefactors of mankind, is highly interesting. better motives to impel you to show that the Bible It must have been satisfactory to his friend, and the justifies the 'sum of all villanies,' than you could readers of the Liberator generally, to know his opin- have, 'were you a slaveholder, or a slaveholding tion, and the changes his opinions have undergone, and the Divine authority of the Bible help to prop up evil are undergoing; and it has enabled us to judge of the of almost every kind. Nay, you say, 'it is impossible effects of those changes on the man. From his own to cure men of gross evils which you enumerate, statement, he was just as good a man, when he was a without changing their views respecting the Bible

believer in the authenticity of Divine revelation, as he If you can show that the Bible justifies slavery, it judge of his former belief from the position he then rity. Now, having such powerful motives to impe occupied, (a minister of Jesus Christ, or, according to you to show that the Bible sanctions slavery, we are denomination of Christians recognized as evangelical. ges. We think a work of this kind could be made At the present time, he reports no progress, but both instructive and lucrative. There is a flattering seems not to be confident that he retains his former prospect that it might rival 'Uncle Tom's Cabin desire to serve mankind, as he had at the beginning It would be an interesting part of history to inform u of his career, when he was in the state of belief. And how father Abraham (whom you or some of the his history also shows, that a belief in the Divine au- brotherhood have discovered to be a slaveholder) and thority of the Bible is not corrupting; not even the mother Sarah managed to keep such a large family of not conclude, that the good life and exemplary conduct of Joseph Barker, as reported by himself, are to be Judging from this, his slaves must have been very attributed to habits of virtue, which he had formed in numerous. It would be examplary and entertaining his early days, when he was a believer in the Bible? to lady-slaveholders to tell of Sarah mounting her He had learned from the Bible, that to love God au- steed, armed cap-a-pie, to ride patrol alternately with premely, and his neighbor as himself, were the pre-cepts to direct him through life. The good Old Book their slaves from insurrection, by such a tremendous says, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and array of armed force. Abraham was manifestly no slaveholder, but was the chief of a tribe, elevated t J. B., in his second communication, announces a that position on account of his superior moral and in

ply to Abraham or his servants. There is no evidence | 'THE WITNESS IN OURSELVES' that polygamy, concufor Abraham's slaveholding.

Let us hear about the Jews when they became or- Dear Garrison-I am in the saloon of the steame ganized in a national capacity; give us a copy of the passing over the smooth, glassy surface of lake Eric. want one instance pointed out of any of the patriarchs port of the negative, we will not support it. or any of the Jews selling a slave, that is, lawfully, or any third person mentioned in any contract of the kind. used by the Church and Clergy, its authorised ex Jewish servitude was manifestly a voluntary contract for an equivalent,

will notice Mr. Barker's unfounded charges against condemned by the Bible? This question is forced ELIZABETH WILSON.

Cadiz, Ohio, Aug. 20, 1852.

#### STEAMBOAT DISCUSSION. THE BIBLE-ITS RELATION TO HUMAN

STEAMER SOUTHERNER, Lake Erie, } Aug. 11, 1852.

DEAR GARRISON: Suppose the Quakers should se- their worst and most murderous forms, are sanctioned lect certain letters and writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, by that book. I cannot receive it all as God's truth and of other early Friends; call a general council of It is repulsive to the purest and most divine elements Friends in New York; put all those compositions to- of my soul. So says Joseph Barker. We have both gether; bind them up in one volume, and then put freely expressed our belief that the Bible has no, the question to vote-Shall this book be received as the power to authorise the perpetration of war, slavery word of God? A majority of the Convention decide in the death-penalty, or any other crim the affirmative, and, on the authority of that vote, I am sorry, for his sake, that T. G. has rejected the they go forth with that book to present it to all as the Liberator because it admits articles that reject those only revelation of God to man, the only test of truth parts of the Bible that sanction war, polygamy, conand only infallible rule of faith and practice; and cubinage, the death penalty, and other crimes and out they proceed to denounce every man as a sinner, who rages against nature. If T. G., or any one else dares to question the authority of that vote, to call feels a pleasure in personal allusions to myself, l in question any thing the book says is true, or to be- hope they will make them freely. He may rest as lieve any thing false, which the book asserts to be true. sured there will be no rejoinder. I have too little They assert that every thing in that book is true and time left me to contend against great public wrongs to right, simply because it is in the book, and that every spend any of it in vindicating myself. If my life thing contrary to the book is false and wrong, be- will not vindicate me, I must fall into condem cause it is opposed to the book.

exactly this thing have the Quakers, and every other their efforts. sect in Christendom done, in regard to the Bible. Certain letters and writings, scattered over Asia, Af- HENRY C. WRIGHT-NON-RESISTANCE rica and Europe, in the hands of individuals, were collected; a council called, of priests and rulers; a vote taken on the question-Shall these compositions be to that book a meaning different from that given by thank him for his kind invitation, but I remind him the popular priesthood.

word of it, or I will no longer walk with you, nor or, in other words, of looking at the probable conse read nor sustain your paper.' T. G. tells you, if you quences of their actions. even discuss the question of its divine authority, as a you that this book is all of God?' T. G. answers, - and nurse my own fancies, and test my own crotchets. I have the witness in myself that it is all of God. Beall that book attributes to him.' You say to him,- that merciless mode of travelling. · Friend G., let me examine the book, and judge from its contents, whether it be true or false.' Suppose T. G. replice, 'Natural sagacity in the reasoning powers of tingly, though not assentingly, to non-resistance

man can know nothing of divine things." Here you are put down, at once, as one that is topowers by which you know divine things. The works chemistry, physiology, and the laws that govern the things;' but, to know and believe all that is in the

Quaker Bible, is to know and receive ' divine things.' to satiate the brutal lusts of soldiers-all sanctioned end to my travelling power. pressly commanded in it, and the slaughter of child- in consequence of the existence of slavery, and the ren for the sins of their parents, You find that the prejudice of color. Quakers are expressly commanded, by their Bible, to put to death, without mercy, all who differ from them think, this : that while we both condemn slavery in their ideas of God, and who would seek to persuade heartily and thoroughly, I am not so bitter as I infer them to embrace other religious opinions than those from his language he is, against slave-owners; for contained in their holy book. Finally, suppose the instance, this is language which I could not use. He book expressly asserts that George Fox had no human says ;- ' I am heart-sick. I cannot speak to you of father, but was divinely begotten of God. All these, our prairies, our forests, our rivers, lakes and mounand many others like them, you find recorded in and tains, nor of the energy or activity of our population sanctioned by the book. Through the Liberator, you the boundless extent of our national domains, without say to T. G., - who is supposed to present to you the shame and horror. Not a forest, deep and dark, not book- I cannot believe that a God of justice, love, a cavern, not a mountain-top, not a river or lake, not truth and purity, ever commanded or sanctioned such one little spot is sacred to liberty.' Now I could, as things. But, says T. G., I have the witness in myself I hope, speak of and admire the works of na ure, notthat he did.' 'I have not, and never wish to have,' is withstanding the process of adaptation, which is the your answer. 'Such atrocious cruelties, such prostitu- process of God in nature, as regards man, is not tions, and such monstrous, unnatural stories never so far advanced in all men as I could desire, and have were and never can be, in accordance with justice, been made to wish. I know, or think I know, that goodness and truth.' 'Well,' says T. G., 'I will have the same God who made and opened my path and othing to do with a paper, that allows the truth and mission, as I am made to view it, has opened their divine authority of one single passage of the Quaker path and their instrumentality, and that it is quite as Bible to be called in question.

tian world. It came into being, as a book, exactly not see with my eyes, because they have not read the as the supposed Quaker Bible did; it is received as same pages in the book of life, with the same eyes the word of God, because a Council of priests and and the same state of faculties, nor been subject to politicians voted it should be so received. Whatever the same influences that I have. the book condemns must be false and wrong; what- If I am right, and in the way of truth, it is quite ever it approves must be true and right. So says certain they will be made to see the same thing in Christendom. The Quakers, generally, and all due time, and that that time will be more quickly other sects, say, so far as we are concerned, the ques- brought about, in proportion as good and honest men tion of the absolute truth and inspiration of every-

of their unhappiness. They had no disposition to es- binage, incest, rapine, plunder, revenge, wrath, and cape, and when they went from home, they were in a wholesale butchery of men, women and children, as 'great hurry to return.' We have an account of one being sent on a special errand by Abraham, (Gen. God. 'We ask no man whether the Bible accounts of 24.) on a long journey, and a great amount of valuable Jonah and the whale; of Samson, the foxes and property with him, and plenty of money in his pocket. firebrands ; of the assassination of Sissera by Jael ; This was a favorable opportunity for him to make his or of Eglon by Ehud, be true, for we have the witescape, if his situation had been uncomfortable. He ness in ourselves, that they are all of God. We ask was anxiously solicitous to have his business brought no men to tell us whether Jesus had a human father, to a close, that he might be permitted to return. -we know that he had not, because we have the There is not one characteristic of slavery that B. has witness in ourselves that he had not; and we will mentioned, either as it respects the master or the slave, give no countenance to any paper that allows any of that will apply to Abraham or his servants. So much these things to be called into question in its columns.

pro-slavery compromises of their Constitution, and a between Toledo and Cleveland. We have had an copy of their stringent fugitive slave law. Excuse instructive, though pitiable scene. Two Quakers, us for anticipating you; you will find their fugitive three Presbyterians, one Methodist, and three Baptists, slave law recorded in Deut. 23: 15, 16. 'Thou shalt and myself. The Quakers had seen the letter of T. not deliver unto his master the servant which has es- G., refusing to take the Liberator, because it allowed caped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with the discussion of the Bible question in its columns, thee, even among you, in that place which he shal! Several of the company had read the letters of J. choose, in one of they gate, where it liketh him best : Barker and H. C. Wright, denying that slavery, war thou shalt not oppress him.' (This was Paul's autho- or snything else was true or false, or right or wrong, rity for sending back Onesimus as a slave; you know simply because they are sanctioned or condemned by Paul was a Jew.) We want you to give us the loca- the Bible. They condemned the spirit of his letter, tion of their slave mart-their scripture authority for as unworthy a just, honest man; yet they insisted selling men inscribed in glaring capitals over the auc- that no Christian could countenance a paper that tion-block. As we have the Bible at hand, we will allowed the truth and divine authority of the Bible to take the liberty to supply you with the passage: 'He be questioned in its columns. They said that they that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found were willing the Liberator should say any thing and in his hand, he shall surely be put to death'-Exodus every thing to prove that God actually approved of 21: 16. You remember Joseph explains what con- all the Bible says he did; but were not willing to susstitutes the crime of stealing a man, viz: buying him, tain a man in uttering one word to prove that he did or selling him for the purpose of holding him as a not. Is the Bible the word of God? They are wilslave. Paul says, 'The law is for man-stealers,' or ling the Liberator should support the affirmative; man-traders, or man-holders-I. Tim. 1: 10. We but, they say with T. G., if it says anything in sup-We know that the Bible, in every age, has been

pounders, to sanction every outrage on justice and humanity. Is anything true or false in principle, or In our next, with Mr. Garrison's permission, we right or wrong in practice, because it is sanctioned or upon us by the advocates of war and slavery. Shall the Liberator be sustained in a fair and full discussion of it ? I can but hope it will. I have cost the Liberator many subscribers. How? I do sincerely believe the Bible, in some points of it, sanctions the darkest crimes and practices that ever darkened the re cords of our race. I have said this in the Liberator and have shown that war and the death penalty, in

For one end I would labor, as far as the Bible i What would be said of the Quakers were they to concerned, to show that nothing can be right because do such a thing? They would be condemned as un- the Bible sanctions it; nothing wrong because it con just, inhuman, tyrannical, insane or infamous. Yet demns it. To this I wish T. G. and all would direct H. C. WRIGHT.

## LONDON, August, 1852.

I observe in a recent Liberator, that HENRY C WRIGHT addresses a letter to me, dated Michigan, received as the word of God? The convention decided about one thousand miles in a direct line west of in the affirmative, and millions have been imprisoned, Boston. He must be so constantly on the wing, prac tortured and murdered, solely because they dared to tising the go-ahead mode of travelling, that he has dissent from the decision of that Council, and to give forgotten the difficulty with which snails travel. I of the thousand ills that flesh is heir to. I remind But, suppose a Quaker, say T. Galbraith, of New him, further, of 'sea-sickness,' and of his own account Garden, Ohio, comes to you with that book, collected of his voyage here and back again, and of how litand passed upon by a Convention of Quakers as the tle we citizens, who seldom quit our own island, are word of God-presents you a copy, and says to you, fitted to encounter the fatigues of prairie travelling Receive all this book contains as coming direct from and that I have arrived at an age, at which men are God-question not the truth and inspiration of one in the habit of measuring a ditch before they jump it,

When I have thought of going to America, to look whole, in the Liberator, or allow others to do so, I at . Uncle Sam. I have generally determined that I will not read your paper nor allow it to come into my would go without letters of introduction, that I family. Suppose you ask him, . What evidence have might see the young stalwart, form my now notions,

I can then, too, travel when and how I like sides, a great Convention of Quakers decided it to be and avoid swamps and cordurey roads, when my corall true, and that God actually commanded and did, pus is not in a state to bear the ups and downs of It is not impossible that some day, within the next

three years, he or you may find me listening unresisdoctrines. Mr. Wright says, if I were to see your deep and

tally blind, and having nothing in your reasoning mighty forests, and pass over your inland seas, inhale their fresh and fragrant airs, and let my soul go of God you know, but these are not divine things. and expend amid nature's mightiest and handlest To know astronomy, botany, geology, mineralogy, work, I might then go back to the narrow streets and smoke of London, and lie down and say, 'Now let material and spirit universe, is not to know 'divine thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

He does not know that I shiver at the idea of trav-But you dare to open the book, and to bring its elling for days through woods and forests, and tremcontents to the test of your own moral nature, of ble at the thought of cordurey roads; and that, inyour own sense of justice and equity. You find po- stead of my soul growing and expanding amongst lygamy, concubinage and incest, sanctioned in that them, I feel pretty sure that one night pussed in a Quaker Bible. You find aggressive, exterminating forest or a prairie would book me for departing, but wars, the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and I think not in peace; and that twelve hours' bnmpchildren, and the giving-up of females taken in war, ing on a corduroy road would effectually put an

by it. You find the hanging and drowning of witch- I am quite prepared to believe the mental pain that es, Sabbath-breakers, and disobedient children, ex- must be inflicted upon those who travel in the States,

A distinction which exists in our theories is. I Sible to be called in question.'

Well that I work on, speaking the truth, and acting it,
Such is the claim set up for the Bible by the Chrisas far as I know it, without bitterness to those who do

are earnest, zealous and faithful and persevering in thing in the Bible shall not be discussed. We have working out their own individualities.

VOL. XXII. NO. 37

Bear in mind, that the progress of this world is committed, in part, to the individuals who island that each has his own lamp given to him, and is the ed with the duty of keeping it trimmed, so the he as be ready, when called, to enter on an adva-

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Let us not forget that our social duties are found upon, and proceed from, an individual Social arrangements are merely more effectual zations for more effectively working out and e ing these individualities, and are the process of ale ing these matter lowest forms of existence up to be highest; and from the lowest stages of barbris to the highest social arrangements, and the and most comprehensive sympathies.

When Henry C. Wright takes to bitter h he appears to me often to take leave of his been ture. Conceiving the man to be before us, one stantly expects him to double his fat and kind down the first slavehold it he meets.

I should be sorry, if, in those observations, I give rise to the impression that I do not wish shelin to produce themselves; to be prominent; to be into produce themselves, we are productive as intheir testimony against slavery and its abonium and in avoiding intercourse, as far as is possible, with

I know how difficult it is for those who here a harror of slavery to restrain detestation from ranning into scolding; but it is the difficulty with which we have to deal, and it is the just and judicious mode of dealing with that difficulty that I are now resoning

I write with great deference for Henry C. Wright's opinions upon these matters, for I know that men who confine themselves pretty well to one subject, in all probability have seen more of its relations, and ar derstand it better than those who have only lookel at it occasionally, as one part of their reading and thick-EDWARD SEARCE.



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November 14

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